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SPEECHES
BY
DR. RAJENDRA PRASAD
PRESIDENT OF INDIA
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PLANTING RIGHT KIND OF IDEAS AND IDEALS IN THE MINDS OF THE YOUNG*

It is a pleasure and indeed a great honour to have met so many experienced educationists from various countries who have come here to discuss problems connected with education and to pool their knowledge and experience. I have not had the opportunity to attend the discussions which you have been having here for the last eight or ten days and what I may say may well be irrelevant or mere repetition and I, therefore, ask for your indulgence and forgiveness in advance. Basically the problem of educating the people is the same the world over. There may be variations in local conditions, regional peculiarities and special requirements of countries and different strata of society, but the ideal of education, namely, drawing the best out of youth so that they are able to develop their innate faculties and turn them to good account and further acquire the capacity to grow in future on their own, is verily the same all over the world. Human personality and the immutability of the laws governing the development of human mind provide the common ground enabling educationists to make a comparative study of educational problems and try to evolve the ideal theory or system which would meet the changing requirements of the human society.

As is the case with every branch of human knowledge, education too is a matter for whose study and systematic growth we depend on cumulative experience. The theory of education, its system and methodology have grown with human experience. It is essentially man's requirements and the resources at his command which have conditioned the system of education from time to time. There was possibly a time when material resources had not so much to do with the imparting of instruction or at any rate the spread of education. But, those were also times when education was not looked upon as a universal need. Its scope was limited just as its application to the various spheres of human activity. The times have since changed and with them the whole pattern of human society. The advances made in our knowledge, specially in the field of science and technology, have all but changed the scope, the utility and also, to a large extent, the immediate purpose of education. If in the past education was mainly a matter of personal attainments, it has now become one of our foremost social needs, in which, of course, the individual's needs are included. All round development in printing, communications and other visual and auditory aids has vested education with unforeseen potential

*Valedictory address to world education conference at New Delhi on January 6, 1960.

for human good or ill. Education is now believed to be capable of not only moulding human understanding and character but also of predisposing, to a large extent, all social or national behaviour. There is no wonder if education has come to occupy a foremost place in the nation-building programmes of all modern countries.

From this progress in education and the general advance made in the science of pedagogy has sprung a new problem. Having recognised the potentialities of education, the question arises how best can they be evolved and regulated so as to ensure the maximum benefit for all members of the human society. This question is necessarily forced upon us in the context of tensions and proneness to aggression displayed now and then by some of the members of the human family.

In this context it may be well worth remembering that the social system as it obtains in the advanced countries, and even in the backward communities, is based on a system of competition rather than of cooperation. It has naturally laid emphasis on acquiring material objects which give comfort, rather than on cultivating those virtues which give contentment and happiness. Naturally the acquisitive tendency in man has acquired a predominant position in his life and thought. If really a society in which all will be happy and contented has to be created, the emphasis has to be shifted from competition to cooperation, from the acquisition for material prosperity to the acquisition of a sense of contentment and happiness. It may well be that it will require a revolutionary change in human thought. Not that it is altogether new, because all philosophers, teachers and specially religious reformers have laid emphasis on this and pronounced it to be a higher and nobler virtue of man than his power and strength to acquire material prosperity. But now that time and distance have practically ceased to play an important role in the life of men and especially of nations on account of the tremendous changes and advances in science and technology, we cannot help reverting again and again to the desirability of recatching old values and re-enthroning them in the hearts of men even in age when the conquest of other planets is within the reach of his intellect.

This big change in human outlook can be brought about by education, education not only of the young but also of the grown-ups and even of the intellectuals, so that the younger ones may grow up in a new atmosphere of friendship and cooperation and the older ones may realise the ultimate futility for human happiness of all material gains. After all, no one can claim that mere

physical possessions have given contentment and true happiness to any single individual, whereas there have been men and women in all ages and all countries who have risen above mere physical wants and found supreme happiness growing out of their inner contentment. It will not be true to say that all such men and women were happy because they were ignorant or that contentment and peace was the peace of the grave. They were truly illumined men and women and they were happy because they understood the genuine value of all things. In every country there are people with different grades of education and culture. Education in the modern sense has not reached all, and in some countries, for want of material resources, it is difficult to make it reach all. But the concept of contentment which is not dependent upon material resources is capable of being carried to all, and education, if it has to take in its sweep the rich and the poor, the progressive and the backward, the highly intellectual and the mentally undeveloped, must make the propagation of this as one of its fundamental points, so that even where it cannot carry the benefits of modern education to all, it can at any rate make them all contented where they are. It will not mean suffocating their desire for improvement: It will only teach them to work but work without being disturbed by the fear of failure or non-attainment of result.

So the task of the educationist has expanded not only horizontally but also vertically and all his mental, moral and spiritual resources have to be so utilised as to make them effective as much with the highly intellectual as with the man with little intellectual attainment. Competition in its ultimate analysis is based on violence and cooperation on love; and if a fundamental change has to be brought about in the outlook of individuals and nations, this fundamental difference has to be kept in view and the principle of love appreciated and applied in all the spheres of human activity. The educator has to do it.

If education is such a vital factor in the conduct of affairs of men and nations, is there any reason why no effort should be made on the international plane to healthy conditioning of education as a means to planting the right kind of ideas and ideals in the minds of young learners?

This was obviously the question which led to the founding of the New Education Fellowship after the first World War. In the very nature of things this Organisation could not be expected to show spectacular results. But it has brought together a number of countries and provided for them a forum for the discussion of the

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various problems connected with education in the context of changing conditions in the world at large through discussions conducted by its various sections and through international conferences. The New Education Fellowship has applied itself to the task of improving the quality of education and of so transforming itself that it can fit present and future generations for living in rapidly changing world conditions. The Fellowship's belief that one key to this is in helping the individual to realise his own potentialities for social and creative living and its conviction that by striving to eliminate the basis of prejudices and promote awareness and understanding it can make a contribution to the creation of a more harmonious world, would be widely welcomed. If I may say so, this belief and the actual working of the New Education Fellowship can be looked upon as a forerunner of other international efforts, notably the UNESCO programme, in the sphere of education, art, culture, etc.

Education, specially universal literacy, is looked upon as the first requisite of a present-day society. While as a result of research and experiments there are good many theories and systems to select from, the main crux of the problem of modern education is the material resources of a State to implement its educational plan. We in this country, who have been behind none in anxiety and enthusiasm to bring the fruit of education within the reach of each one of our citizens, have often had to give second thoughts to our plans on account of our limited resources. More than 20 years ago our great national leader, Mahatma Gandhi foresaw this difficulty. The necessity of getting over the hurdle of inadequate resources and his own faith that education in order to be true must be both intellectual and manual were responsible for the birth of the idea of Basic Education. He spared no pains in exchanging views with educational experts and with their help in perfecting the system of Basic Education.

We have since Independence been encouraging this system by giving it a trial in all parts of the country. It may be too much for me to say that this system has been an unqualified success, but as far as I know it has started striking roots and may sooner or later come to be recognised as the only answer to our problem of education and literacy. I must confess we have not yet emerged from the trial and error stage. We firmly believe that the inclusion of handicrafts or a little manual work in the school curricula provides a fair chance to our students to meet a part of the cost of their education and at the same time creates in them a healthy outlook on life. We also believe that it will result in the many-sided develop-

ment of a student's personality. But, as I have said, this is a belief which, howsoever in keeping it may be with the theory of education, is yet to be tested on the touchstone of actual practice.

I am sure many of you have had occasion during your sojourn in India to know of the principles of Basic Education and its actual working in the country. Your views on the subject will be welcome and should be of help to us in improving the theory and practice of this system. I need hardly say that our plans are elastic and we are ever open to conviction. Who can afford to be rigid in matters educational?

May I close with a word of appeal to you, distinguished educationists, to keep in view not only the limited purpose of educating the individual but also to prepare the ground for the new world in which competition and acquisitiveness will have given place to cooperation, contentment and dedication to the service of all?

SERVICE OF T. B. PATIENTS, A PIOUS AND HUMANITARIAN DUTY*

Brothers & Sisters,

This Hospital has been doing anti-T.B. work on a big scale. Something about it I knew earlier and the literature given to me throws further light on it. I am getting convinced that any such work sponsored with the help of private contributions can always get financial aid from Government. Tuberculosis has spread its tentacles over such a large area that unless both the Government as well as non-official agencies make a joint effort to fight it, it will be difficult to get rid of this disease. Generally speaking the genesis of this disease is poverty, because under-nutrition and mal-nutrition are its chief contributory causes. But it is also highly infectious. Therefore, the best thing to do is to segregate patients and to treat them along scientific lines.

I do not know the exact figures of the incidence of this disease in India, but to the best of my knowledge it is frightfully large. There was a time when this disease was confined to the towns and cities, but now it has gradually crept into the countryside also. I am glad something has been done to check it through mass B.C.G. inoculation. Let me hope this preventive measure proves effective. But still it is essential that more and more institutions like the Mehrauli T.B. Hospital are established for the treatment of known cases.

It is gratifying to see that this Hospital provides so many facilities to patients. Actually I came to know something about them from a Rashtrapati Bhavan employee whose sister had to be admitted here. That man had to come here now and then and he often spoke to me about the arrangements in this Hospital. I had a desire since then to visit this Hospital, so that when your invitation came I readily accepted it. If this invitation had come earlier, perhaps I might have been able to see also the patient from Rashtrapati Bhavan. But it is better to have come here now after the recovery and subsequent discharge of that patient from here.

There must have been many women and children suffering from this disease who received medical aid here and benefited from it. I am sure all of them must be blessing this Institution. They must be blessing all the donors and perhaps also the Government. Not only that, all the workers whether they are doctors

*Speech at the T.B. Hospital, Mehrauli on January 8, 1960.

or nurses are also entitled to their blessings and good wishes. Tuberculosis is looked upon as a terror. In olden days it was thought one who contracted it was doomed to die within a thousand days or three years. But, thanks to the advancement of medical science and modern hospital facilities, patient can now live and carry on almost his normal duties even after the removal of a lung. In this scientific age no one need die an untimely death. Though death of everyone born is certain and inevitable, yet it is sad if one succumbs to it prematurely. We have, therefore, to multiply T.B. hospitals and institutions like this one in this country.

I can well imagine the happiness with which your patients must be leaving this hospital after recovery. I am sure those whom you admit for treatment must also be coming here full of hope. It is a great humanitarian job you are doing here. According to all faiths, service of the sick is a pious duty. As T.B. is a horrible disease, service of T.B. patients is a still more pious and humanitarian duty.

I would like to offer a word of cheer and hope to the patients on the rolls of this Hospital at present. They can be sure of being looked after well till they have recovered from it. Let me also thank all those who have donated large sums to enable the T.B. Association to start this Hospital. The T.B. Association itself, which is carrying out its beneficent activities from various centres in the country is also deserving of our thanks and appreciation. I am glad my connection with this Hospital which was already deep has become deeper today.

WELCOME TO THE PRESIDENT OF USSR.*

It gives me great pleasure to extend to Your Excellency a warm and cordial welcome on behalf of my people and my Government. We have been looking forward to this occasion when we could greet you amongst us. In your present visit we see the fulfilment of a long cherished wish of ours that the President of a great and friendly country, the Union of the Soviet Socialist Republics, could spend some days in our midst.

Our two countries have come close to each other in recent years. The leaders of the two countries have exchanged visits, and by these and other mutual exchanges we have come to know and understand each other's way of life and thought. I feel sure that your present visit will bring our two countries still closer.

It has been our constant effort to promote good-will among peoples and to develop a climate of understanding. We hope and pray that the efforts of the great powers of the world to achieve a stable peace will be crowned with success. In lasting peace the under-developed countries of the world shall be able to go forward in the gigantic task of ensuring their peoples better life and better future. In your tour of our country, Your Excellency, you will see our community development centres, our new industrial projects, some of which are being established with the generous assistance of your country. You will also see centres of ancient culture and historic interest. We hope that, together, they will give you a picture of India in which the best traditions of old are being harmonised with the demands of a new society.

Allow me Your Excellency once again to extend to you a very hearty welcome on behalf of my people and my Government.

*Speech Welcoming President Voroshilov at Palam Airport on January 20, 1960.

WORLD PEACE—A COMMON IDEAL OF INDIA AND USSR*

It is a matter of great pleasure to have you and your distinguished colleagues in our midst. As I said this morning we have been looking forward to this occasion and I need hardly repeat that we welcome you as the Head of a great country which through its revolution initiated a new epoch in human history. Your nation has, despite the vicissitudes of war, made enormous strides in the scientific and technological fields. Your scientists have conquered space and brought within the grasp of man what seemed altogether unattainable. In the field of culture and art you continue to maintain an excellence which earns you admiration from the world over.

Though we have fashioned our own revolution in a different mould our two countries have much in common. We represent, as the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics does, a harmonious synthesis of different peoples, races, cultures and languages. In our vast land we are pledged to ensure better standards of living for our people. In our striving for world peace and understanding between nations we share with you a common purpose. We believe, Your Excellency, as your leaders do, that all efforts should be directed towards achieving a lasting peace where the fear of disastrous war is banished and man's skill and ingenuity directed to noble purposes.

Almost five years ago our Prime Minister visited the Soviet Union and a few months later we welcomed your leaders. It was the beginning of a new chapter in the history of the relations between our two nations. Our mutual relations today extend to various fields, industrial, technological, cultural and economic. Technicians and engineers from your country, working in collaboration with ours, have just completed the gigantic steel project of Bhilai which stands out as a symbol of Indo-Soviet collaboration and cooperative effort. We are grateful for the economic and technical assistance extended to us by the Soviet Union and recognise fully the value of this aid in our plans to build a better and happier India. We are glad, too, that projects like Bhilai and many others enable the people of the two countries to get together and to know and understand each other better. The many cultural and other delegations from India that have visited your country have come away enriched with experience. Our students are in your universities

*Speech at the Banquet in honour of President Voroshilov on January 20, 1960.

and institutes engaged in cultural pursuits or in learning the advanced techniques of modern science and industry. We have had opportunities to welcome to India your statesmen, men of letters, scientists, technologists, indeed people from varied occupations and many walks of life thus widening our contacts and the interests of our peoples in each other.

Your Excellency is aware of the deep importance we attach to world peace, a cause to which your country is equally devoted. Both our governments recognize that disarmament is the key to universal peace. We have noted with special satisfaction the recent drastic reduction in the armed forces of the U.S.S.R. This augurs well for the forthcoming talks between the Great Powers, to which my Government, as well as yours, has attached much importance. Much in the world today depends on these talks and we cannot but feel that the resultant understanding will bring with it the possibility of extending to the development of large areas in Asia and Africa, the scientific knowledge, the genius and the wealth of the industrialised and advanced countries. On our own horizons we face unfortunately new problems but I can assure Your Excellency that we remain resolute and are determined to seek peaceful solutions in our traditional spirit of negotiation and conciliation.

You, Sir, soldier and statesman, noble and distinguished patriot, are travelling to India for the first time. In your brief tour of my country you will see the many facets of its life, our projects, industrial and agricultural, our attempts at building for a better and brighter future, but beyond all that you will see our fervent desire to ensure peace and happiness to our countrymen. I hope, Excellency, you and your distinguished colleagues will carry back with you in some measure the feelings of warmth and affection which our people have for you and your country.

WORLD AGRICULTURE FAIR, A MEETING GROUND FOR VARIOUS COUNTRIES*

Your Excellency, Ladies and Gentlemen,

It is a great pleasure and privilege to me to be able to attend this evening's conference and to visit your Pavilion in this Great Fair. A Fair or an Exhibition of this type has a value of its own. Specially for a country like India, which is growing and which is trying to build a new economy and a new system of life, it has a special value. We are an old people and we have our old traditions in agriculture as in every thing else. But in our life we have never been so conservative as to reject a thing simply because it came from other lands. As experienced cultivators and gardeners, we know the value of grafting. We know that if you graft on the stem of even an inferior type, you always get a better type of fruit. Our experience with our principal fruit, mango has been that it can be improved infinitely by that method of grafting. In our present effort to re-build our economy, we are trying to employ this art of grafting. We want to graft on the piece that we have from the old, the best that we get from the new. Our experience tells us that the fruit that we so get will be really very valuable indeed.

It is necessary, particularly, in the present conditions of the world. We have now reached a stage in the world when distance has been practically eliminated and technical progress has achieved results which were inconceivable some time ago. Whether a particular country wants it or not, it is bound to come into closer and closer contact with other countries of the world. Wisdom lies in making this contact fruitful and good for all. An exhibition or a fair like the one that we have here gives opportunity to various countries, various farmers to exhibit what they have achieved or what they are proposing to do, to other countries. I am quite sure that from what we shall see in this big fair, we shall derive considerable profit.

I have been round the Russian Pavilion only a short while ago and there I have seen all-round development of a very very high order and I am quite sure that our people who are visiting this fair in thousands every day, will derive immeasurable benefit from what they see in that Pavilion as in other Pavilions. But the thing which will probably be of interest, if they can understand it, will be the results which can be achieved by the application

*Speech in the Soviet Pavilion at the World Agriculture Fair on January 21, 1960.

of the latest methods of Science. I am referring particularly to the use of atomic energy in agricultural matters. An exhibition like this, as I have said, is a meeting ground for various countries and can thus help in creating good feeling, neighbourly relations and what is needed most an atmosphere of peace in the world. I am quite sure that a country like India needs peace more than any other thing and that is because we are building our future and that process will be retarded if there is any kind of disturbance. I am, therefore, hoping that all the countries, particularly big countries, will come to certain agreements which will ensure peace for the future.

I am specially grateful to the President for the very kind words and the very noble sentiments which he has expressed on more occasions than one. I can assure him that we reciprocate those feelings to the full from our side and if we could be of any use to the world in maintaining and in promoting peace, we shall consider ourselves most fortunate.

Thank you.

ASSURANCE OF SUPPORT FOR THE CAUSE OF INTERNATIONAL PEACE*

I am thankful to Your Excellency for the kind words you have been pleased to say about our country and our people. We have been greatly moved by the warmth and the spirit of cordiality which have prompted you since your arrival here to express such fine sentiments for the Indian people and your appreciation for whatever little we have so far been able to achieve in the sphere of economic development and contribute to international amity and peace in the world. It is not a matter of mere formality, Mr. President, when I say that we set great value on your friendly views and your country's goodwill.

As I had occasion to say the other day, we have noticed with admiration the efforts that your Government has been lately making for stabilising and consolidating peace by ending the mist of cold war and by sponsoring the cause of disarmament by nations. Indeed, your country has already given proof of its earnestness in this direction by announcing unilateral reduction in its armed strength. Let us hope the world weary of war and anxious to get rid of the fear of armed conflict will receive this move with enthusiasm. We, at any rate, in this country would like to convey to you our appreciation of what your Government has been doing to outlaw war by strengthening the forces of peace and international understanding. Peace, in itself a positive virtue, is no longer a mere desideratum today. Its compulsion or inevitability has to be recognised if the world has to reap the fruit of the progress made in science and technology and if mankind desires to ensure its very existence.

The great advance which the U.S.S.R. has made in the field of science and technology commands today the admiration of the world. I am happy to say that this advance is not confined merely to armaments or the weapons of war. You have applied this advance to the spheres of industry, agriculture, education and so many other departments of human life. The success which you have achieved in all these spheres with the help of new techniques is indeed stupendous. You have developed the material resource of your great country in a manner which may well serve as an example to other nations. Not only that, your country is desirous of projecting its scientific attitude towards its relations with other nations. It is so gratifying for us to see in our own country the growing Indo-Soviet collaboration in the field of

*Reply at President Voroshilov's banquet in honour of the President of India on January 22, 1960.

industry and agriculture. I hope this collaboration will continue to grow to the benefit of the peoples of our two countries.

May I convey to you, Mr. President and through you to the great people of the U.S.S.R. our deep appreciation and great admiration for what you have achieved and for the way you are exerting your great and massive influence in the cause of international peace and assure you of our support ? I propose to you, ladies and gentlemen the toast of the health of the President and the people of the U.S.S.R.

INTERNAL DEVELOPMENT RATHER THAN CONQUEST HOLDS KEY TO NATIONS' PROGRESS*

Your Excellencies, Ladies and Gentlemen,

It is a pleasure and no small privilege for me to be the recipient on behalf of my country of the felicitations and good wishes from the distinguished representatives of so many countries on the occasion of the anniversary of our Republic. Formality and the dead decorum of routine which characterises ceremonials are apt to dull the sense of pleasure. Need I say that an occasion like this is an exception to this rule? Our delight at the approach of the Republic Day is considerably heightened by the fraternal greetings and the warm cordiality offered to the people of India on behalf of the Governments and the peoples of so many countries.

Your speech, Mr. Dean of the Diplomatic Corps, is warm-hearted and pregnant with thought as ever before. I hope looked to it as a treat year after year. How well and truly you have said that it is in adversity that a nation no less than a man can measure itself best against its destiny. Not that adversity in itself can ever be a matter of pride or liking; it is the sum total of human reaction and resultant behaviour that one adopts to face it which breeds virtue of the highest order. For man and nations, therefore, trials and tribulations are a part of the game of life and if one can stand up against them and face them as they should be faced, more often than not, strength rather than weakness comes out of the situation. It is in this spirit that a nation should grapple with its difficulties. I can only hope that the kind words that Your Excellency has said may prove to be a tribute well deserved by our nation.

Progress of science and technology have in a sense made co-operative life between nations a necessity. Time there was when the rise and fall of nations could be ascribed, in most cases, to kings and emperors whose prowess could find only one outlet, namely, conquest of foreign lands. We are living today in a world which is happily different. World opinion is fast mobilising itself against war and any kind of armed conflict among nations. We expect and devoutly hope that the days of military adventures would soon be over and conquering hordes treading unknown lands would soon become a thing of the past.

*Reply to the Speech made by the Dean of the Diplomatic Corps at Luncheon on the 23rd January, 1960.

The emphasis today is on internal development with the aid of new techniques that the progress of science and technology has made possible. I dare say what we have witnessed in our lifetime has proved conclusively that in ultimate analysis the distinction between the victor and the vanquished in modern warfare is illusory. If nations have to progress, if they want to enrich themselves and raise the living standards of their respective peoples, development of material resources at home rather than marching in formation into foreign lands is the key to the achievement of this ideal.

I am glad to say that we have lived to see the happy day when the climate of peace is gradually spreading in the world. Our hopes and prayers are with those, particularly the Big Nations, who are exerting themselves to stabilise peace in the world and to rid mankind of wars as much as of the fear of war. When these efforts are crowned with success, then alone will the real El Dorado be in sight. It will not be the El Dorado of buccaners or venturesome pirates on the high seas. It will be the dawn of a real golden age ushered in for the benefit of all.

You have been pleased, Mr. Dean, to make a reference to our foreign policy, specially our attitude to the recent dispute on our border. I would crave your indulgence in order to endorse what you have said about our Prime Minister. If I may be permitted to speak for him, his statesmanship has an element of the historical perspective and in the determining of his thought and attitude has gone the lesson of history, past and present. I agree that it is a nation's duty to do in practice what it preaches or stands for in theory. There is no doubt that in dealing with this delicate question between ourselves and a great neighbouring country, on whom we still look as a friendly nation, we have had to make an effort to pacify popular resentment. Our Government may be said even to have risked unpopularity on this issue. But we have not hesitated to adopt the course which we consider to be the best, not exclusively from our own point of view but also from the point of view of the world at large.

It need hardly be reiterated that our policy flows from and is in keeping with our age-old traditions. We can only hope and pay that a situation never arises when our faith in our principles and traditions is strained to the breaking point. We trust that world opinion and the current emphasis on peace, which cannot but be shared by our neighbour along with other nations, will eventually avert any calamitous development.

Friends, I would like to thank you once again for this kind gesture and all the good thoughts that you have expressed today.. Permit me to reciprocate these thoughts and good wishes and to extend the friendly feeling which has prompted them to peoples of your own countries and also other nations.

NEED TO REHABILITATE THE TEACHER*

This is the second year that National Awards are being given to teachers of primary and higher secondary schools from all over the country. Last year also I was privileged to be present here to give away these Awards and I had heard all that was said on the occasion by way of explaining the purpose behind the institution of these National Awards. I am very glad to be present here again, if only because it gives me an opportunity of thinking once again of one of our foremost national problems, education of the masses and the welfare of teachers and the student community. It would not be wrong to say that within these twelve months this problem, always a pressing one, has become still more pressing and acquired greater urgency.

Dr. Shrimali, Minister for Education has already pointed out the need to rehabilitate the teacher in the community so that he inspires people's respect and is shown the consideration due to a preceptor and a nation-builder. It has long been complained, and I believe not without reason, that the responsibilities, which his profession imposes upon the teacher, are neither adequately recognised nor rewarded in terms of material gain by the society. With his limited means, the teacher remains involved mostly in the problems of his own existence so that he can have neither the time nor the inclination to devote himself to his professional work whole-heartedly. In a society in which respectability has come to be measured by the yardstick of worldly wealth, the teacher cannot but feel like a weary traveller drudging along somehow on the long and tiresome journey of life. Indeed the helplessness of the teacher has been so acute that he has not only been able to enlist popular sympathy but has come to be looked upon as the aptest example of the maladjustment in our present-day society.

Yet, teaching is without doubt a noble profession, and its nobility does not necessarily rest on any considerations of piety or other-worldly loftiness but on the stern logic of material prosperity itself. For, what society can hope to build itself well and make for a healthy and progressive nation unless its children have received proper schooling? To expect disgruntled, ill-equipped and ill-provided teachers to carry out this national responsibility

*Speech made while giving away the national awards for teachers at New Delhi on January 25, 1960.

is expecting too much from man. To appeal to the teaching profession in the name of its nobility and highmindedness to work with devotion and in a spirit of dedication without seeking to improve their material prospects and getting them the place in the society which they deserve, will be ironical, some might think even hypocritical.

The Government, particularly the Union Ministry of Education, has, therefore, been devoting thought to this question ever since we became free to plan our own future. Ultimately it is a question of resources, for the teachers must be well paid and their numbers must increase as our literacy drive gathers momentum every year. I know something has been done in most of the States to improve the pay-scales of teachers, but I am afraid the steps so far taken cannot be considered as either effective or entirely satisfactory. We can never be too liberal while allocating national funds for education.

The present position, which is unfortunate and not a little unsavoury, has often created awkward situations. We hear a good deal of talk of compulsory education while adequate schooling facilities for those already keen on learning do not exist. If I remember aright, year after year the people of Delhi get agitated on school and college admissions more than on any other question. We have still a large number of schools housed in tents or shabby buildings. If that is the state of affairs in the capital city of India, one can well imagine how things must be elsewhere.

However, this self-criticism has done a lot of good. It has brought home the realisation that the problem of education has to be tackled earnestly and that the first step that should be taken to do so is to try to rehabilitate the teacher by improving his economic and social status. As I said, teachers' pay-scales have been improved and are constantly under review. The Education Ministry and the States Education Departments can be credited with having championed this cause and given a most sympathetic consideration to teachers' demands. Apart from giving them a monetary lift, which is without doubt important, it is possible to raise their social status by recognising the importance of their profession. It is with this idea in view that the Ministry of Education thought of instituting National Awards for teachers adjudged to be outstanding in the profession. I am sure it is a step in the right direction. National Awards are already being given to artists, eminent scholars tillers of the soil etc. By extending them to teachers, Government has raised the status of

the teaching profession in the society and provided the much-needed stimulus for improvement to the teachers.

Let me hope all those who are selected for these Awards would dedicate themselves to this noble work of teaching with redoubled enthusiasm. Coming as they do from all parts of the country, they can by their example surcharge the whole atmosphere and help not only in winning for their profession the place in the community which they deserve but also improve the quality of education in general. They will thereby have the satisfaction of doing their duty and contributing to the building up of new India.

I wonder if, apart from better pay-scales, other means of giving relief to teachers have yet been considered. I feel that teachers should be allowed certain concessions for the education of their own children and in respect of medical care, housing etc. They may also be given such other benefits as are generally available to State employees. Other steps like the provision of compulsory contributory Provident fund and Insurance for teachers can also be considered.

I would like to congratulate all the recipients of the National Awards. Let me hope this distinction which has been conferred on them today would enable them better to carry the torch of learning in the length and breadth of the country. In our scriptures and also our national tradition, *Vidya danam* is considered to be one of the highest gifts one can offer in life. May this spirit of service and desire to spread enlightenment inspire you all and through you the entire teaching profession in India, is my wish and prayer.

A WORD OF CHEER TO INDIANS IN FOREIGN LANDS*

It gives me so much pleasure to greet you again, our brothers and sisters in foreign lands, on this happy occasion of the 10th anniversary of our Republic. Whatever our preoccupations at home, our thoughts often go to you and your well being is close to our hearts. May you always prosper and bring a good name to the mother country by your good deeds and upright behaviour, is my wish and prayer.

Our Republic is today entering the eleventh year of its existence. All these years we have been up and doing, developing our material resources and trying to turn India into a land of peace, plenty and prosperity. We are well set on the road to industrialization and have been able to implement, fully or partially, several big projects we took in hand during the Second Plan period. When you come back home next, I can promise you quite a few pleasant surprises. You will find countryside electrified in many States, new roads and railways laid, new canals lacing the rural areas with their bounteous waters, three giant steel plants erected and spitting molten ore round the clock and community development and social welfare centres spread all over the land.

I know you will feel happy to see all this. But, let me tell you, it is no more than a beginning. The journey to our great destination is long and arduous. However, faith in India's destiny inspires us and the determination of our people provides the necessary sinews for the job. An undertaking like this cannot be without its own hazards and difficulties and, be sure, we are no longer strangers to them, though with God's grace we are bound to get the better of them and achieve our cherished goal.

You too, brothers and sisters, must be thinking of your country today. I would like you to think also of the high moral and spiritual ideals from which we draw inspiration in our home and foreign policies.

Once again I wish you god-speed and good luck, wherever you are and whatever you be.

JAI HIND

* Republic Day message for Indians abroad.

MESSAGE OF HOPE & PROGRESS*

Let me greet my countrymen on the eve of the 10th Republic Day and wish them good luck and happiness in the coming year. Every year we exchange greetings on this happy occasion and felicitate one another and also look around to see the state of the nation, its growing economy and its fast-developing resources. We have weighed these developments against our long-term plans and our cherished dreams to turn an under-developed nation of teeming millions into a prosperous State in which every citizen, assured of life's essential needs, leads a reasonably happy life. The whole machinery of the State, nay, the entire resources of the nation, are being mobilised to give shape to this ideal.

Since we became free and took charge of the affairs of State we have remained mainly occupied with setting our house in order, that is to say, with dealing mostly with our internal problems, though, as is well known, we have throughout been following a foreign policy which we have thought to be the best for India. Respecting other nations' independence, cherishing friendly feelings for all peoples, firm belief in every country's freedom to live in the manner considered best by it, to adjure violence and aggression and to work for the maintenance of world peace—these are some of the important elements in our foreign policy. This policy which came to be known as that of peaceful co-existence has been subscribed to by good many other nations of the world.

Something has happened which threatens to strain our belief in these principles. One of our neighbours with whom our relations have throughout been friendly and who has been with us in propounding the theory of Panch Sheela, has thought it fit to encroach on our frontiers and occupy fringes on the border areas falling within Indian territory. In the face of provocation and the rising popular resentment we have continued to rely on negotiations and settle whatever dispute there be in a peaceful and friendly manner. Our anxiety, however, to remain friendly and avoid resort to force has not so far evoked the desired appreciation from the other side. While hoping for the best, we have to be vigilant and united. Though our faith in peace and peaceful co-existence remains unshaken as ever, we cannot afford to ignore the fact that eternal vigilance is the price a nation pays for its freedom.

Side by side with meeting the requirements of defence necessitated by recent events, we are determined to spare no effort in

*Message to the Nation on the eve of the Republic Day.

implementing our big nation-building projects. Some of these projects have already been completed or are nearing completion. Work on others is proceeding according to schedule. During this year we had the Ganga Bridge opened to traffic, linking North Bihar and Assam with South Bihar and West Bengal. Encouraged by this remarkable feat of engineering we now propose to span the mighty Brahmaputra near Gauhati, and our Prime Minister has laid the foundation of the new bridge only this month. Work on Bhakra, Nagarjunasagar, Chambal, Neiveli and Kundah Hydro-Electric Projects continues to progress. The three major Steel Plants at Rourkela, Bhilai and Durgapur have begun functioning in part this year. These are expected to supply more than our present requirements of steel.

At one time during the year the food situation threatened to worsen, but the price level was soon brought down as a result of efforts to ease the supply situation and opening of foodgrain shops throughout the country. The situation since then has shown signs of improvement and there is reason to believe that this trend will receive further support from the present reassuring crop position and foreign imports to build up adequate reserves.

Brothers and sisters, I want you all to give a little thought to these momentous questions confronting our country. I need hardly tell you that are they receiving the best consideration at the hands of the leaders to whose care you have entrusted the affairs of the country, but in a democracy national questions are the concern of every citizen and everyone must apply himself or herself to them.

Once again I wish you all the best of luck and have pleasure in greeting you on this day.

JAI HIND.

FUTURE SENTINELS OF INDIA'S SECURITY*

General Paintal, Officers and Boy and Girl Cadets,

It is really a matter of great pleasure for me to receive you this afternoon. The General has expressed his gratefulness for my finding time to meet you in the midst of my various engagements. I assure him that it is not only a matter of duty but also of pleasure to be able to meet men and women of the country, especially boys and girls, in their young age, and those who have had the privilege of receiving training as cadets deserve special care and they must get special treatment also from a man in my position. So, it is really no burden but a matter of pleasure that I have got this opportunity of meeting you.

As I look upon your faces and as I recollect what I saw the other day at the time of the Parade and what I have seen on other occasions of the cadets of the country in different parts and different places, I am full of hope for the future. It is on you that the country will have to depend later on for security and for its integrity. I mean not only those who are here or only those who have the opportunity of serving as the cadets but I mean the youth, the young men and women of the country who are growing up. We have had our time and men like me can only hope that it will not only be your privilege but also a pleasure to serve the country in the best possible manner. At the present moment we need the services of men and women, especially of young men and women for various kinds of works which are taken up for ameliorating the condition of our people.

It is a matter of regret that in many of our educational institutions we sometimes hear indiscipline. That is not good. It is not good for those institutions, it is worse for those people who are participants in such acts of indiscipline and worst of all for the country, because, after all, when they grow up, they will have to be disciplined to serve the country and to serve themselves. Therefore, what you at the present moment are getting is the very valuable kind of training which will be of use to you in later life. It may not be that all of you will go the same way or take up the same kind of work. But, I assure you that the regular life which you lead, the discipline which you have to undergo and the training that you receive will stand you in good stead in whatever may come your way in later life, and I, therefore, ask you to take this work as seriously as you can, to attend to every

*Address to N.C.C. contingent at Rashtrapati Bhavan on January 28, 1960.

little detail of the training and of the kind of life that is insisted upon for you; and you should do it all with a will, with a sense of pleasure in the work itself. When you do that, even difficult things become easy.

The difficulty consists not so much in the work as in the feeling which one has when approaching the work. If you start with a grumbling mind—oh, this is very difficult; how shall I do it; how can I do it; it is much too hard a work for me; I am not trained for this—if you start like that, well, more than half the work gets undone at the start. But if you start with a good will—well, this is my job; I have to do it and I will do it—then more than half the work is done at the start, and I therefore insist that you should do whatever you do with a will and take pleasure in the work itself never hoping to gain anything out of it. If anything comes out of it, well and good; it will be so much better for you. But even if nothing comes out of it, you will not be disappointed because you have never expected anything out of it.

So, I tell you my own experience that the best thing that a man can do is to do whatever comes his way with a will, with an intention to do it well and with all his strength and honestly without hoping for anything in return. Not that no return will come; return will come. It will come in greater measure than anybody expects. But if you do not hope for it, you will be the happier for it whereas if you hope for it and if there is any the least reduction in the achievement and if you achieve any less in even the smallest matter, then you are unhappy. Therefore, the pleasure should lie in the work itself, not in getting the result of it, and that is the spirit in which every cadet has to work because you have to be prepared for the worst and to work for the best. Work for the best and be prepared for the worst always and that way you will make yourself useful and make yourself happy and serve the country well.

I suppose you have heard a lot of good advice from so many people and probably I have also added something to them. I do not wish to take more of your time. If you remember only some part of what I have said, I think that will be useful.

BUDGET SESSION OF PARLIAMENT*

Members of Parliament,

Once again, it is my privilege to welcome you to your labours in a new session of Parliament.

2. In the year we leave behind, my Government and our people had been engaged, more than ever before, in their endeavours in nation-building. The needs and achievements in economic and social advance are understood by our people, in town and village, in increasing measure, as basic and vital to the improvement of their conditions and standards of living and as important to their daily lives.

3. The incursions into parts of the territory of the Union of India, across our traditional and well understood borders, by elements of Chinese forces have, however, deeply distressed our people and evoked legitimate and widespread resentment. They impose a greater strain on our resources and our nation-building endeavours. We regret and deplore these developments on our border. They have resulted from the disregard by China of the application of the principles, which it had been mutually agreed between us, should govern our relations. My Government have taken prompt and calculated measures, both defensive and diplomatic, to meet the threat to our sovereignty.

4. My Government particularly deplore the unilateral use of force by our neighbour on our common frontier, where no military units of the Union were functioning. This is a breach of faith; but we may not lose faith in the principles which we regard as basic in the relations between nations.

5. Members of Parliament: You have been kept informed by the release, from time to time, of the correspondence between my Prime Minister and the Prime Minister of China, of the respective positions of our two countries in this matter. My Government have made it clear, beyond doubt, that they seek a peaceful approach in the settlement of outstanding matters. They have also stated and reiterated, equally clearly, that they will not accept the course, or the results of unilateral action or decisions, taken by China. My Government, therefore, pursues a policy both of a peaceful approach, by negotiation under appropriate conditions, and of being determined and ready to defend our country.

*Address to Parliament on 8th February, 1960.

6. This and the weight of world public opinion which is adverse to her action should, we hope, persuade China sooner than later to come to agreements in regard to our common frontiers which for long have been well established by treaties, custom and usage. Thus, and thus alone, can friendly relations with our great neighbour which my Government and our people desire, become a reality and endure for our common good. The actions taken and the policy pursued by my Government, it may be hoped, will be adequate to convince China of both our policy and our determination.

7. Members of Parliament : I have referred at some length to the situation that has developed on our border and to the consequences and problems thereof. I need hardly say that in doing so I have reiterated the sentiments of our entire country and our people and their determination to defend our territory. Defence, however, is effective only with national unity and strength. Our economic and industrial advance, the gearing of our production and our plans to greater endeavour and larger and speedier results, which will enable the country to make available to itself the means and the resources for modern defence and, at the same time, help the nation to become strong and disciplined, can alone render her secure.

8. Distressing as these Sino-Indian border developments have been, we may not, and we do not, relax our efforts for the planned development of our economy and our country. In point of fact, because of this situation, my Government are taking steps to speed up further, organise and streamline our economic development.

9. The work on the preparation of the frame and the outline of the Third Five Year Plan with its longer perspective and higher targets is making good progress. The objective of the Third Five Year Plan is to seek almost to double the national income, taking 1950-51 as the basic level, and to pay much greater attention to agricultural production and to our food requirements, to heavy machine building and to the development of basic resources such as steel, fuel and power. Small-scale and rural industries, the speedier and healthy development of our rural economy, and the healthy relationship between rural areas and industrial centres are among the main aims of the Plan.

10. The Third Five Year Plan represents a critical period in our national development. It aims at making our economy more self-reliant and capable of increasing and generating

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resources for its further and larger development. It calls for sustained efforts and endurance of our people. Thus, our Third Plan will keep well in view, both its own developmental aspects as well as the requirements and the perspective of the Fourth Plan to follow. While we are grateful for external aid and loans, as necessary in the present stage of our development, we should, in our own interests, in consideration of those who have been our good and generous friends, and the needs of the under-developed areas of the world, strive to shed our dependence.

11. The country's foreign exchange position while it shows no deterioration, remains more or less unchanged. My Government, therefore, pursue a policy to create a more favourable balance of trade and to earn more foreign exchange by strict control over imports and efforts to increase exports. It will be the endeavour of my Government to conserve our foreign resources and add to the volume of our invisible exports in which there still exists unutilised a vast and increasing field.

12. Our industrial production shows a pronounced upward trend, and for the first ten months of the year, an increase of over ten points has been recorded, from 138 to 149.3, over the last year's figures. This is an all-round increase to which all industries have contributed, but special mention may be made of the rise in the output of metallurgical industries. The three steel plants at Rourkela, Bhilai and Durgapur have gone into production in 1959. There has been a fifty per cent. increase in the production of pig iron and a somewhat lower, though considerable, increase in the output of steel.

13. The iron and steel output would help to advance the Heavy Machine building projects. My Government have already sanctioned a number of machine building and other projects for the Third Five Year Plan. These include the doubling of the Heavy Machinery Project at Ranchi and the steel production at Bhilai, the expansion of the Heavy Electrical Project at Bhopal, a number of new projects for power, fertiliser plants and Heavy Machine Tools.

14. The Chemical Industry has also witnessed appreciable advance. An Intermediates Plant to provide the basic raw materials for the manufacture of dye stuffs, drugs, explosives and plastics is being established.

15. The endeavours of our Railway organisation to attain self-sufficiency in regard to essential equipment have enabled it not only to meet all the requirements of steam locomotives,

coaches, wagons, signalling and lighting equipment, but also to yield a surplus for export.

16. Mining activities in the public sector have increased considerably. The Geological Survey of India has been expanded to undertake search and intensive investigation in virgin areas in minerals essential to our expanding economy.

17. A Statutory Oil and Natural Gas Commission has been established. The search for and discovery of oil in different parts of the country continues. Sixty oil wells have been drilled in Nahorkatiya for the production of crude oil required for the two State-owned Refineries in Assam and Bihar and the construction of the Refinery in Assam is in progress.

18. My Government have entered into an agreement with the Government of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics for the supply of equipment for the construction of the Refinery at Barauni in Bihar.

19. My Government are alive to the requirement of scientists, technicians and technologists for our expanding economy. Measures are being taken to step up progressively the output in these cadres and to provide increasing by better career opportunities and a higher status for the old and new entrants. In our developing economy, there are ever growing opportunities of service in these fields, which are so important to our planned development on modern lines.

20. Our Atomic Energy organisation has recorded commendable progress. Increased production of isotopes, the fabrication of fuel elements, the Uranium Metal Plant at Trombay, the extraction of Plutonium from the used fuel elements and the mining of Uranium are among the achievements of this organisation. The preliminary work for the setting up of the first Nuclear Power Station is well in hand. The Uranium which is sought to be mined in Bihar will supply sufficient raw material to feed the first Nuclear Power Station.

21. An additional tonnage, of one lakh gross, was added to the Indian Merchant Fleet. A National Shipping Board and a statutory non-lapsing Shipping Development Fund have been established. Indian shipping, which has suffered many handicaps in the pre-Independence period, will continue to receive all possible assistance in its modernisation and development. My Government is fully aware of the place of the Merchant Navy in our economy, in the conservation and earning of foreign

exchange and in its auxiliary and reserve roles in the defence of our long sea coast.

22. The Code of Discipline evolved in 1958 has improved the climate of industrial relations in the country and created more favourable conditions for the maintenance of industrial peace and increase of efficiency. Compared to the previous year, there has been an appreciable reduction in the loss of man days of work in 1959.

23. The Employees State Insurance Scheme has been extended to further areas and now covers about fourteen and a half lakhs of factory workers, while medical care under the Scheme has been extended to about twelve lakhs of members of the workers' families.

24. In the field of National Education, the teaching of science subjects, expansion of girls' education and the training of women teachers have made good progress and are gathering momentum. All eligible college students belonging to Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes are receiving stipends.

25. Advance in the production of food is vital to the sustenance, expansion and strength of our economy. Foodgrains production attained a record level of 73.5 million tons and cash crops also recorded satisfactory yields resulting in the overall increase in the Index of Agricultural Production to 131.0, an increase of 14.3 per cent. over the previous record in 1957-58. We cannot, however, feel satisfied, much less complacent, about the food production in our country. Each year, we are obliged to import considerable quantities of foodgrains for consumption and for reserve stocks, causing great stress on our slender foreign exchange resources and rendering our economy far from self-reliant. Our production per acre falls short of the yields in many of the countries of Asia, Europe or America. My Government are giving greater attention to the increased production of fertilisers and to the supply of good seeds. It is, however, by better cultivation, avoidance of waste through pests, better animal husbandry, the advance of co-operation both in production and in marketing, and by the determination of the people to be self-reliant, that individual and national prosperity can be achieved.

26. To enable greater participation in the conduct of affairs and the development of our economy by the people of the country as a whole, my Government have encouraged schemes of devolution of authority to statutory institutions of the people at the

basic level of our great and growing democracy. This scheme of "Panchayati Raj" has already been inaugurated in Rajasthan and in Andhra Pradesh and is making progress in other States. To make the working of the "Panchayati Raj" efficient, a comprehensive programme of training non-officials of all categories has been undertaken.

27. Defence production has made satisfactory progress. Plans of expansion in this field, both of production and of capacity, are under consideration and will be progressively implemented.

28. My Government have taken steps to expand the National Cadet Corps in the coming year and to form units of nursing and auxiliary services for girls. The Territorial Army and the Lok Sahayak Sena will also be expanded in numbers, and certain changes introduced in regard to their training and reserve liabilities.

29. A number of measures for the improvement of the conditions of service in the various categories in the Armed Forces have been implemented.

30. The re-settlement of ex-servicemen and the utilisation of the reservoir of disciplined manpower that they provide are continually engaging the attention of my Government. Schemes of technical and vocational training and guidance and of self-help by co-operatives are promoted. Welfare and re-settlement of ex-servicemen are integral to defence considerations and provide a necessary incentive and legitimate measure of hope and security for those who serve the Armed Forces.

31. Members of Parliament are aware that in the Proclamation issued in relation to the State of Kerala on the 31st of July, 1959, which was approved by Resolutions passed by the Lok Sabha and the Rajya Sabha, it was provided that the general election for constituting a new Legislative Assembly for that State shall be held as soon as possible. The general election was accordingly held and polling took place in the entire State on February 1, the number of voters exercising their franchise being one of the highest recorded in any election. The Proclamation will be revoked and the normal constitutional machinery restored in the State shortly.

32. Parliament decided during the last session to extend the safeguards provided in the Constitution for the reservation of seats for members of the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes

in the Lok Sabha and the State Legislatures by a further period of ten years and the Constitution (Eighth Amendment) Act embodying this decision has received my assent. Government also propose to appoint a Commission as required under Article 339 of the Constitution to examine and report on the administration of the Scheduled Areas and the welfare of the Scheduled Tribes in the States.

33. Sixty-three Bills were passed by Parliament in 1959. Fifteen Bills are pending before you. My Government intend to introduce a number of legislative proposals both by way of Bills and amendments. Such proposals will include:—

- The Atomic Energy Bill;
- The Indian Telegraph (Amendment) Bill;
- The Agricultural Produce (Development and Warehousing) Corporation Bill;
- The Forward Contracts (Regulation) Amendment Bill;
- The Indian Patents and Designs Bill;
- The Employee's Provident Fund (Amendment) Bill;
- The Dock Worker's (Regulation of Employment) Bill;
- The Plantation Labour (Amendment) Bill;
- The Central Maternity Benefit Bill;
- The Indian Sale of Goods (Amendment) Bill;
- The Religious Trusts Bill;
- The Two-Member Constituentencies (Abolition) Bill; and
- The Payment of Wages (Amendment) Bill.

34. My Government also propose to introduce a Bill for the reorganisation of the present Bombay State and to reconstitute it as two separate States.

35. My Government have already announced their decisions on the major recommendations of the Pay Commission. The other recommendations are under their active consideration. The additional commitments on account of the pay, allowances and pensionary charges alone are estimated to be about thirty-one crores per annum, in respect of the Services directly covered by the Jagannadha Das Commission Enquiry.

36. A statement of the estimated Receipts and Expenditure of the Government of India for the financial year 1960-61 will be laid before you.

37. My Government note with gratification the relaxation in world tensions and the prospect of high level meetings of the Heads of Governments for the promotion of World Disarmament and Peace. The initiative of great statesmen, notably the President of the United States of America and the Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the Soviet Union, deserve the attention and appreciation of our country and people. My Government, while welcoming the continuance of the voluntary unilateral suspension of nuclear test explosions and the increasing endeavours of both the United States of America and the Soviet Union to solve this problem reiterate their view that the testing of weapons of mass destruction should be abandoned.

38. We welcome these trends and the direct contacts between the leaders of the Great Powers and wish success to their efforts, which we feel assured are inspired with sincere desire to halt the armaments race and for world peace.

39. We also welcome whole-heartedly, in the midst of the awesome growth of armaments and the fear and passions from which they spring and on which they rest, the newer development of the projection of the picture of a warless world, wherein nations will not only lay down their arms, but reject war as a method of settling disputes and devote their energies and resources to building a peaceful world.

40. Devoted as my Government and people are to world peace and co-operation, they are determined to adhere to a peaceful approach and the policy of Non-alignment, to both of which our country stands fully committed by history and outlook, faith and conduct, and by the overwhelming desires and convictions of our people. Parliament has expressly endorsed this policy on several occasions.

41. I have had the privilege and pleasure of visting Cambodia, the Republic of Vietnam, the Democratic Republic of Vietnam, Laos and Ceylon, and to receive the generous welcome and joyous greetings of their Governments and peoples.

42. I was happy to welcome to our Capital the President of the United States of America, and later the President of the Soviet Union, who in their persons represent not only the greatness and power of their countries, but also the fervent desires of their peoples for world peace. We are looking forward to the visit of the Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the Soviet Union, Mr. Khrushchev, another messenger of peace in the world today.

The goodwill and moral support of this country will be behind the efforts of these two great countries, and those of others, in full measure in their search for Disarmament and Peace.

43. My Government were glad to welcome the Prime Ministers of Afghanistan, Australia, Cambodia, Ghana, Nepal and Sweden. We look forward to the visits of President Nasser of the United Arab Republic, His Majesty the King of Morocco and the Prime Minister of Finland.

44. The Vice-President visited the Philippines, Norway, Sweden, Denmark and Finland, receiving cordial welcome from the Governments and the people there.

45. My Prime Minister visited Afghanistan, Iran and Nepal, and was welcomed with an abundance of goodwill.

46. The exchange of visits of my Prime Minister and the Prime Minister of Nepal has further strengthened the bonds of affinity and friendship and proclaimed the desire and determination for co-operation in the interests of our two countries.

47. Our relations with Commonwealth countries and our participation at various Commonwealth gatherings have served to create greater understanding of our internal and external policies and, in an appreciable measure, served also to assist our economic development.

48. I am happy to note that further agreements have been reached with Pakistan in regard to our boundary disputes. It is the hope of my Government that these arrangements with Pakistan will lead to a successful delimitation of our boundaries along our frontiers with our neighbour with whom we have always desired to remain in friendly relations.

49. Progress has also been made in regard to the settlement of financial issues pending between India and Pakistan, and it is hoped that the long-standing Canal Waters dispute will be settled soon. I welcome these developments which bring promise of closer relations between our two countries.

50. The Government and the people of India were deeply grieved and shocked to learn of the assassination of the Prime Minister of Ceylon, the late S. W. R. D. Bandaranaike, on September 25, 1959. He was a great friend of India and visited us several times. Out heartfelt sympathies went out to the Government and people of Ceylon, as well as to Mrs. Bandaranaike and her children.

51. In the United Nations, our delegation reflected the deep feelings of our people in regard to the problem of the liberation of colonial countries and, more particularly, in regard to Algeria in the sustained struggle of the Algerian people for their national independence.

52. We welcome the independence of the Cameroons, till recently under French administration. We look forward to the emergence to nationhood in the coming years of several other colonial areas in Africa.

53. The policy of apartheid, pursued by the Government of the Union of South Africa, inflicts untold suffering and indignity on the majority of the people who are subjects of that Government. These include large numbers of people of Indian origin. This policy constitutes a violation of Human Rights under the Charter of the United Nations, and it has again met with overwhelming disapproval by the United Nations in the last session of the General Assembly.

54. My Government have decided to exchange diplomatic representatives with Cuba, Venezuela and Colombia in South America and Guinea in Africa.

55. Members of Parliament : I have placed before you the main events and achievements and our concerns of the past year. I have also projected before you some of the great tasks and burdens that are in front of us. They must engage your dedicated attention. Your understanding and co-operation, in regard to problems of our economic planning, the defence of our country and our contribution to world peace, are required by our Government and people in increasing measure. Thus will Parliament fulfil its historic role in our Constitution.

56. We have celebrated this year the tenth anniversary of our young Republic. Our Constitution which we gave unto ourselves, wherein all power and authority are based upon and spring from the people, has endured and grown in strength. The policies and achievements of my Government and of our people have strengthened our democracy and continue to import into it economic and social content in increasing measure.

57. We are fortunate in the historic background that our national struggle developed and the inspiration that the life and example of the Father of the Nation gave to us. In this eleventh year of our young Republic, we may look back as well as forward, with pride and confidence, though not with complacency. The

tasks ahead of us are stupendous. They call for constant vigilance, greater determination and discipline and a sense of purpose both among our people and in our administration. This alone will make our democracy a reality in terms of the masses of our people.

58. Our vast resources and the qualities of our people have become engaged in the tremendous task of construction and progress that lie ahead of us. In these, the quality of our administration into which must be imported an ever-increasing sense of urgency, rationalisation of procedures, the emergence and development of greater confidence at all levels, and the avoidance of waste of manpower and time, must be an urgent consideration.

59. It will continue to be the constant endeavour of my Government to initiate and further efforts and plans to bridge the gaps between the time of formulation of policies and their implementation, to enable our people to participate at all levels in our economic and social developments, and for them to feel a sense of function and dignity which Independence has brought to us.

60. My Government seeks to uphold the dignity and independence of our land and people, to promote our unity and social well-being, and to build a democratic and socialist society in which progress is sought and attained by peaceful means and by consent.

61. Members of Parliament : I bid you to your labours in this new session and wish you all success. I earnestly trust that wisdom and tolerance and a spirit of co-operative endeavour will guide you. May your labours bear fruit for the good of our country and people and the world whom we are all privileged to serve.

WELCOME TO SOVIET PRIME MINISTER*

It gives me great pleasure, Your Excellency, to extend a hearty welcome to you on behalf of the people and the Government of India and on my own behalf. Having had the privilege of having you in our midst about 4 years ago, we have been looking forward to this second visit of yours with an eagerness heightened by personal contact.

During these years, I am glad to say, our two countries have come still closer to each other. Our collaboration in the field of economic and industrial development has begun to bear fruit. But no less important than this collaboration has been our common approach to world problems, specially the maintenance of peace among nations. Permit me to say that the role which the Soviet Union has, of late, been playing in this connection under Your Excellency's leadership has been universally acclaimed. We offer you our heartiest good wishes for the success of these efforts.

Though on this occasion Your Excellency's visit is short, we are thankful that you found it possible to accept our invitation. Allow me once again to welcome you in this country and wish you a happy and comfortable time during your brief sojourn.

*Speech welcoming Mr. Nikita S. Khrushchev, Chairman of the Council of Ministers of Soviet Union at Palam Airport on 11th February, 1960.

USSR's CONTRIBUTION TO RELAXATION OF WORLD TENSIONS*

It is a matter of great pleasure for us to welcome in our midst this evening His Excellency Mr. Nikita S. Khrushchev, Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the Soviet Union. We recollect with great satisfaction the deep impression which your visit to our country 4 years ago made on our people. As a result of that visit and our Prime Minister's visit to your country, India and the Soviet Union have ever tended to come closer to each other. It is indeed gratifying to see the feeling of understanding and mutual appreciation of each other's ideals, aspirations and requirements grow with the passage of time. Our mutual exchanges have not been confined to the economic and industrial field only. Our two countries have exchanged several cultural delegations as well.

Time was when it was customary to raise monuments in stone or brick and mortar to keep the memory of big events alive. Valuable as those monuments are in their own way, it seems to me that the real monuments of the modern era are going to be the new industries and the progress made in economic and other spheres of human endeavour among nations on the basis of collaboration, goodwill and mutual help. The far-reaching discoveries of science and the modern inventions will go down in history only as a one-sided development of man unless these developments bring home to human society the fact that the world is, after all, one family of which the various nations are members. For ages thinkers and idealists have dwelt on this concept. But what has so far been said figuratively now holds good realistically. The conquest of distance and the availability of better and quicker means of communications have led to closer contacts among the peoples of various nations. This development must be followed by greater understanding and tolerance among nations, so that all differences and disputes among the man be settled through negotiation and any resort to force is outlawed.

May I on this occasion felicitate Your Excellency on your efforts which have so greatly contributed to the relaxation of world tensions and which have led in no inconsiderable measure to the holding of high-level meetings of the Heads of Governments for the promotion of world disarmament and peace? We have said it earlier and I would like to reiterate it tonight, that the people of

*Speech made at the banquet in honour of the Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the Soviet Union on February 11, 1960.

our country appreciate your initiative in this direction. We welcome these trends and the direct contacts between the leaders of the Great Powers and wish success to their efforts, which, we feel assured, are inspired by the sincere desire to halt the armament race and strengthen the forces of world peace.

We are thankful to Your Excellency for having come here in response to our invitation and it gives me great pleasure to welcome you in the name of the people of this country and on behalf of our Government. May your efforts for better understanding among nations and for the establishment of enduring peace in the world bear fruit and may the great advances made in recent years in science and technology prove to be for the happiness and the prosperity of man and the human society ! This is our wish and our prayer.

WELCOME TO THE PRESIDENT OF U.A.R.*

It gives me great pleasure to welcome Your Excellency to India on this auspicious day. Permit me to greet you and your party with "Id Mubarik".

Friendly contacts between India and your country and indeed the whole Arab world go beyond the era of written history. This fact of our ancient connections and mutual co-operation has gained added significance by the present-day friendly relations between India and the United Arab Republic.

It is exactly 5 years since you paid us a short visit, but on that occasion you were not able to go round and see what we have been trying to do by way of rebuilding our country through planned economic development. It is, therefore, most gratifying that on this occasion you will be able to stay in our country for 12 days. Although the period is short, I fervently hope that you will have a happy and comfortable time during this sojourn in India.

Once again, Mr. President, I extend to you a most cordial welcome on behalf of the people of this country, the Government of India and on my own behalf.

*Speech welcoming the President of the United Arab Republic at Palam Airport on 29th March, 1960.

INDIA HAS FRIENDLY FEELINGS TOWARDS U. A. R.*

Your Excellencies, Ladies and Gentlemen,

We have much pleasure in welcoming in our midst tonight His Excellency Gamal Abdel Nasser, President of the United Arab Republic. As I said a few hours ago at Palam, he has done us the honour of being with us on the auspicious day of Id and provided us with an opportunity of offering him our Id greetings in person.

President Nasser symbolizes the spirit of awakening in the Arab world. His championship of Arab nationalism is based on no narrow considerations. Indeed, the movement itself is part of the great resurgence which is going on throughout Asia and Africa. Arab nationalism, as symbolized by President Nasser, represents an urge for independence, unity and rapid progress. We who are faced with many similar problems can appreciate this urge. We hope and trust that the cherished desire of the Arab peoples for greater solidarity and progress will be achieved.

Contacts between the region represented by the United Arab Republic and India are older than history. They have their roots in the pre-historic era. Our ancient countries have been, in our chequered histories, through many a rise and fall and seen many vicissitudes of fortune. We have known the rise of great empires and awe-inspiring kings, but somehow both of us have managed to survive the endless revolutions of the wheel of Fate. And now in modern times our two countries have emerged, let us hope for ever, from the period of darkness. We are now free to build up our countries and to shape our destinies. There is no doubt we have a leeway to make up, but we in this country have taken in hand the task of reconstructing our economy to the best of our resources. Prosperity at home and peace in the world is our motto.

I am glad, Mr. President, that you will be going round and seeing some of our projects, big and small. Some of the projects have already been completed and work is proceeding apace on others in spite of several difficulties. We have, however, no doubt that our Government's determination and our people's abiding faith in the destiny of India will enable us to get over all the difficulties and accomplish the task that lies ahead.

We feel very happy to know that under your and your Government's inspiring leadership the United Arab Republic is forging

*Speech at the banquet in honour of the President of the United Arab Republic on March 29, 1960.

ahead. The people of this country have nothing but the friendliest feelings towards your people and, therefore, they feel gratified to know of the progress you have been making.

I take this opportunity of welcoming His Excellency President Gamal Abdel Nasser to our country and asking you, ladies and gentlemen, to raise your glasses and drink to his health.

NEED FOR A STRONG BAR*

I think it is a wise decision that the members of the Bar have taken to establish an All-India Bar Association. It is wise particularly because this decision has been taken in good time. If there is any foundation for the apprehensions which the Attorney-General has given expression to, a body like this can help in resolving many of the difficulties which may arise and in guiding public opinion in the country, and if I may say so, also members of legislatures in whose hands our legislation is vested.

As we all know, we have deliberately elected for a democracy, and the particular form of democracy which we have chosen for ourselves is on the lines of the British democratic constitution. We are therefore naturally guided on many occasions by precedents and by actions of those concerned with the British Constitution. But it will be incorrect to say that we are entirely or even principally based on the British Constitution. For one thing, there is a fundamental difference that in spite of whatever we may think or say, or Parliament is not sovereign in the sense the British Parliament is sovereign. The powers of our Parliament are limited just as the powers of our State Legislatures are limited, and they are limited by the Constitution itself. It may appear to a superficial observer that the Parliament has got the power to effect a change in the Constitution also. That is not the view I take. By laying down a special procedure for altering the Constitution or introducing amendments in the Constitution, the Constitution has laid down that the Parliament for the time being constitutes itself into a Constituent Assembly for the particular function and after having fulfilled that function, it again reverts to the position of an ordinary Parliament for ordinary day-to-day legislation.

This is so because it is apparent that there are two kinds of amendments which are involved in our Constitution. There are certain amendments which may be passed more or less without any formality. There are others on which there are many restrictions and many kinds of limitations. A special procedure is provided without which an amendment cannot be passed, and therefore I say that when we make this distinction, we must recognize that Parliament cannot be said to be sovereign in the sense in which the British Parliament is sovereign whose decisions cannot be questioned in any court of law. It is almost a daily experience of all of us that Acts and legislation passed by Parliament are brought before courts on which they have to pronounce whether the Parliament had the right to pass a

*Speech at the Inauguration Ceremony of the Bar Association of India at the Vigyan Bhavan, New Delhi, on 2nd April, 1960.

particular law or whether it had exceeded its jurisdiction or had acted within its powers. If that is so, then we must realise that the Constitution, for that very reason, divides the functions of the various organs of the State and it makes each organ more or less self-sufficient and independent in its own sphere. If the legislature is independent in its sphere, the judiciary is equally independent in its own sphere, and while the one cannot and ought not to interfere with the activities of the other, each one has certain restraints which it has put upon itself in order to be able to act justly and fairly so that the work may proceed without any difficulty and without any obstruction. We know that in this respect our State legislatures pass laws and many of these laws conflict with the laws passed by the Centre: And according to the provisions of the Constitution itself, this conflict has to be resolved either by obtaining the assent of the President or by declaring that being in the concurrent field the decision of Parliament will be supreme as compared with the decision on the same subject of a State legislature.

The whole Constitution therefore envisages checks and balances so that unless each acts within its own sphere, limited by the Constitution and even more so limited by its own dignity and sense of restraint, the work of the Constitution cannot get on well. It is here that the importance of the judiciary becomes so apparent and that is so when we take into consideration that the judiciary has to decide not only disputes, between one citizen and another, but also between a citizen and a State, between one State and another and between all the States on one side and the Centre on the other, and between one individual and the Centre. This gives a wide scope where the jurisdiction of the courts is affected and therefore the work of the courts becomes all the more important. The courts are helped and advised—I do not think I shall use the word ‘advised’—the courts are helped and assisted by members of the Bar in carrying out their functions. They only make submissions and do not advise the courts; and when the Bar is strong, it also provides the Government with a field for recruitment of good Judges. The tendency now is to confine all appointments to the members of the Bar. If the Bar is weak, the judiciary will be weak and there can be no question about that; and if you want to have a strong judiciary you would have a strong Bar so that you may have judges with the right calibre. There is an old saying

‘Yatha Raja Tatha Praja’

‘As is the King, so will the citizens of the State be’. I think this has to be reversed in a democracy. In a democracy the rulers cannot

be better than the ruled because they represent the ruled and they are selected and elected by those who are ruled. They cannot obviously rise very much above their own standards and above their own status. If they are wise, they will select wise men. If they are corrupt, they will select corrupt men. If they are good, they will select good men. And therefore it is that creation of public opinion of the right type amongst the masses, amongst the people who have to constitute the government, has to be carried on continuously without a break. The Bar offers opportunities for its members to help in this matter as much as it can help in the actual administration of justice. I have therefore always felt that there is need for a strong Bar, and the formation of a Bar Association like the one you are going to have is sure to help in the development of those qualities amongst the members of the Bar, which will be also reflected in course of time in the Members of the Bench when they become exclusively confined to only members of the Bar.

There is only one word more I would like to say. Reference has been made to the example of a similar association in America. There is no doubt that it is a very ennobling illustration he has given; and I can only hope that members of our Bar will devote themselves with equal zeal and devotion to the work.

Since Independence, our litigation has changed its quality. Formerly members of the Bar used to become very rich because there used to be a lot of land litigation, litigation about big zamindaries and so forth. Now with the abolition of zamindaries and abolition of all big intermediaries, that kind of litigation has ceased. Formerly there used to be a lot of litigation in connection with land—there was a little legislation too, but more litigation. Now we have more legislation but little litigation on account of land. I think it is not a bad thing: But at the same time it adds to the responsibility and to the work both of the lawyer and of the judge because the old fiction that everyone is supposed to be in the know of the law and to be held responsible for disobeying it because he is supposed to know it, should not hold any longer because we are producing legislation on such a mass scale now that it becomes impossible for anyone to keep himself fully acquainted with the trend of new legislation, and details of course are out of the question. It is therefore necessary all the more for those who are in a position to guide and advise the ordinary man to keep himself fully posted and up-to-date with regard to the trends of the law so that he can give them the right type of advice, and his advice should not necessarily be for winning

because although it is important for a lawyer to win a case, I think he is not there for winning a case—he is there principally as an officer of the court, to help and assist the court. The winning of the case is only an incidental thing: The real thing is that he has to assist the court so that the court may arrive at the correct conclusion. Since there are lawyers on both sides, the idea is that all points of view will be placed before the court and it would be left to the court to choose which would be the best and correct view to adopt. Therefore it does not mean that you accept that point of view or that you necessarily wish to win your case. You have always to try to help the court so that it may arrive at the right conclusion: and if that ideal inspires the members of the Bar, I have no doubt that courts also will arrive at correct conclusions in most cases, which may not be always true.

Ladies and gentlemen— I think I have transgressed upon your patience a little too much, especially on a subject on which I have no right to speak: but since you have given me the indulgence, I have taken the liberty. And with these words I wish to inaugurate the function of the Bar Association.

ROLE OF SANGEET NATAK AKADEMI IN PRESENT-DAY CULTURAL RENAISSANCE*

I am very happy to have been able to come here for presenting Akademi Awards to eminent artistes in the field of music, dance, drama and films, on the kind invitation of Shri P. V. Rajamannar, President of the Sangeet Natak Akademi. It is a matter of joy and privilege for me to have been associated with such pleasant functions in the past as well, so that continuity of association has enabled me to have some idea of the progress being made by the Sangeet Natak Akademi.

Sometimes I hear people mooting the advisability of the State extending its patronage to these arts and their devotees. Some may argue that State patronage might ultimately imply fostering of uniform standards or regimenting the artistes and thereby introducing an unwholesome principle in the realm of fine arts.

I have tried to appreciate this argument, but I feel that in this case it is based on some misunderstanding of the functions and status of the Sangeet Natak Akademi. As is well known, this is one of the three Akademies sponsored by Government, but only sponsored by it, for it is intended that all these Akademies should function as autonomous organisations. There is, therefore, no question of any direct official influence on or interference with their work. All that the Government may be said to have done is to provide the necessary resources and guidance in administrative matters as and when required. Secondly, in the matter of setting standards or adjudging the excellence of art, the Government is not even remotely responsible for it, because every Akademi has well-known and experienced artistes on its Board to guide it and to lay down the policy with regard to the nature and quality of art to be encouraged by it.

For these reasons I feel there is no occasion to apprehend that there is any official interference, to say nothing of regimentation, in conducting the affairs of these Akademies. On the other hand, it should be remembered that non-commercial pursuits like the fostering of arts can be undertaken either in a feudal system where the landed aristocracy extends its protection to them or in a democratic society where it is incumbent on the State to encourage them as a part of its national welfare programme. In the wake of the changes that have taken place in our society

*Speech on the occasion of Presentation of Awards by the Sangeet Natak Akademi, on April 12, 1950.

since independence, it was but natural for the Government to step in when patronage of these arts was withdrawn with the disappearance of the ruling princes and the aristocracy.

For the last 12 years or so we have been trying hard to develop the material resources of the country so as to attack our principal enemy, namely, poverty. But exclusive devotion to material development would be a one-sided objective in any society howsoever economically backward. For a country like India, having a rich and centuries-old tradition in art and culture, such a thing may well be looked upon as unpardonable. Our development plans have, therefore, been as comprehensive as possible. We have tried to cover all fields of human activity and all aspects of welfare work. The development of cultural activities, specially arts, could not, therefore, have been left out by our planners. The State has merely provided the resources and given a lead in this direction. It is now for artistes and the lovers of art to take full advantage of this opportunity. Judging from the output of our Akademies, one could say that these bodies have been ushered in not a day too soon and that full advantage is being taken of the platform that they have provided for the development and encouragement of arts.

In the present-day cultural renaissance, which is in evidence everywhere in the country, the Sangeet Natak Akademi has a big role to play. By its own example it has to set new standard in keeping with our national requirements today and our age old traditions in dance and music. Equally important is the task of channelising properly the energy and healthy curiosity released by the forces of this nation-wide awakening. I am sure the Sangeet Natak Akademi is fulfilling this role aptly. It is immaterial, as Shri Rajamannar has also pointed out, if the Akademi is going slow and has not been able to accomplish mighty things. Nevertheless, publishing of rare manuscripts dealing with music and dance, assisting institutions devoted to these arts all over the country and, above all, to have established a National School of Drama, are no mean achievements. I take this opportunity of congratulating the Sangeet Natak Akademi on whatever it has been able to achieve so far and wish it success in its plans for the future.

Let me also take this opportunity to offer my congratulations to the distinguished artistes who have been chosen for this year's awards.

CONTRIBUTION OF AMIR KHUSRO TOWARDS HINDU-MUSLIM UNITY*

I am grateful to you for having invited me to participate in the Urs of Hazrat Amir Khusro. There are many reasons why we should honour the memory of this noble soul. Firstly, in his own right he was a great man, who had devoted himself to learning various languages and acquiring knowledge from all available sources from his very childhood. At a time when the Hindus and the Musalmans had not yet come sufficiently close to one another and a wide gulf existed between the two communities, Khusro with the blessings of his spiritual preceptor, Hazrat Nizamuddin, sought to bring the two communities nearer to each other. It speaks for his foresight and catholicity that before assuming this undertaking Khusro acquainted himself fully with the historical and traditional background of the two faiths, Islam and Hinduism. In addition to Persian and Arabic, Khusro studied Sanskrit and some of the basic scriptural sources of Hinduism. He found that the main cause of the two communities keeping apart from each other was that the two spoke different languages and this retarded social contacts. It was for removing this difficulty that he started experimenting with current tongues and written languages in order to find a common medium of expression. He started writing in the language which was commonly understood in and roundabout Delhi. Khusro's effort was crowned with remarkable success. The language in which he wrote more than 700 years ago may be said to have laid the foundation of modern Hindi and Urdu.

We need not go into the Hindi-Urdu controversy here ; nor need we discuss the evolution of these languages. The undisputed fact is that Khusro's writings are probably the earliest sample of modern Hindustani or Hindi or Urdu. In his own inimitable way he proceeded to compile a basic vocabulary of commonly understood Persian and Sanskrit words, and using them in the local dialect and proverbs, Khusro invented a style of writing which is universally recognised as the mother of present-day Hindi and Urdu. This is the biggest contribution of Amir Khusro to the Hindustani and its literature.

Some might reckon that the work which Khusro accomplished in the social field is yet more important than his contribution in the sphere of language and literature. The beginnings of India's composite culture can be traced to Amir Khusro's early efforts.

*Speech at the Urs of Amir Khusro April 14, 1960.

He wrote and preached extensively about the beliefs and the mode of living of the Musalmans who had made India their home. On the other hand, he also wrote about the traditional thought and the way of living of the Hindus for the benefit of the Muslims. As a result of these efforts the gulf which separated the two began to be bridged. Social contact between the Hindus and the Muslims increased and the two communities began to come closer to each other as a result of mutual understanding and sympathy. Our history bears testimony to the fact that it was as a result of the preachings of Amir Khusro and other soofis and saints that the basis of the Delhi *sultanat* and the shape of governmental machinery became broader in the 14th century and thereafter. It is not surprising, therefore, if among Khusro's admirers we find both Muslims and Hindus.

Although the Urs of Amir Khusro has been celebrated year after year for centuries, I think there are special reasons why we should celebrate it in the present age. India is today a free country, a country whose Constitution confers equal rights on all its citizens and where no one has a right to consider himself superior and none need fear that he will be dubbed inferior on the basis of caste, creed or religion. In the eyes of our law and Constitution all citizens of the State are equal. We Indians can take pride in the fact that for thousands of years people professing different faiths and belonging to different communities have been living in this country. Even today there is hardly a living faith whose followers are not found in our country in howsoever small or large numbers. We feel proud of this diversity in our cultural pattern and look upon it as a blessing and a quality.

But it is not enough merely to say this. If we must feel proud and call this diversity a blessing, we have got to do something to ensure that it is really so. We must all cultivate tolerance and goodwill towards one another. Let people of faiths living in this country feel that they have all an equal right to live here and follow the faith of their choice. This is one of the most fundamental principles of our Constitution and it is the duty of every citizen to foster the spirit of liberality and tolerance.

For achieving this objective nothing could be of greater importance than celebrating such occasions as the Urs of Amir Khusro and appreciating the services rendered by men like him. To have faith in God and religion and to show sympathy towards all His creatures, are one and the same thing. It is this fact, above all else, which the lives of men like Hazarat Nizamuddin and Amir Khusro bring into bold prominence.

Although occasions like this are this of importance for people all over the country, those living in Delhi have a special responsibility to celebrate them and to imbibe the spirit of the composite culture and the common language for which Hazrat Nizamuddin and Amir Khusro toiled. That is because both of these noble souls lived most of the time in Delhi and lie buried here. I think Amir Khusro ranks as one of our national heroes. I am glad that this fact has begun to be appreciated widely and something is being done by our people, I am told also the Government, to keep the memory of this gifted man alive.

CONTROL OF LEPROSY*

I am glad to be among you once again and to receive all of you at the Annual General Meeting of the Hind Kusht Nivaran Sangh.

Rajkumariji has given us a bird's-eye view of leprosy work in the country, and also some glimpses of what is being done elsewhere in the world to combat leprosy. Today, more than ever, we seem to be coming to close grips with the problem, and with sustained, dynamic action, I am sure victory should be ours. This action, as Rajkumariji has pointed out, has to be both scientific and human. For, nothing that is done, except it be in the warm context of human needs and satisfactions, can truly succeed.

I understand that one of the difficulties of your treatment campaigns is that a large number of patients do not take treatment regularly, even when it is made available to them. The answer to this difficulty is obviously education of the patients so as to evoke their active participation of our programmes. It is only when knowledge spreads amongst the patients and the general public that fuller use will be made of available health services. It has been rightly said that health cannot be simply given to people and that it demands their participation. I am therefore very happy that health education in leprosy will receive increasing attention and that the Hind Kusht Nivaran Sangh will concentrate on this aspect of the work. Education of the public is very essential for the success of leprosy control campaigns. Unless people shed their unreasonable dread of the disease, and the stigma against this disease is abolished, the patients' co-operation will not be forthcoming in full measure. In its own interest, society has to change its hitherto mistaken notions of leprosy.

Moreover, the very success of modern treatment has brought in its wake a big human challenge and responsibility. Those who have been cured physically have to be rehabilitated socially, psychologically and economically. We have now come to realise that deformity can be prevented and corrected and that, given the right approach, those who have had leprosy can be rehabilitated and reintegrated with society. It is a huge task and demands for its success not only technical knowledge but patience, courage, creative imagination and a humble spirit in the worker. The

*Address at the Hind Kusht Nivaran Sangh Annual General Meeting on April 18, 1960.

reward of such work will be rich. For, as Gandhiji said, if you can transform the life of a patient or change his values of life, you can change the village and the country.

The ultimate value of your work, in my eyes, is that it releases the forces of justice, compassion and love. Leprosy work is to me one of those many silent forces at work in the world, generating respect for life and love of man. For only by love can we understand and serve one another. It fills me with gratification to know that from year to year the outlook for leprosy control is brightening and that an increasing number of organisations and individuals are engaged in this great mission of leprosy work. I regard this progress in leprosy work as one of the brightening elements in India's new horizon and, indeed, as an assurance that the masses of mankind are rapidly awakening to a new world of health and happiness.

SERVICE OF THE SUFFERING HUMANITY*

It gives me great pleasure to welcome all of you here and to preside once again over the joint gathering of the Indian Red Cross Society and the St. John Ambulance Association of India.

The Red Cross report has impressed me by the amount of good solid work that it narrates. The Society has done excellent relief work in flood-stricken areas where, surmounting difficulties of distance and communication, large quantities of relief supplies were rapidly sent for distribution among distressed people. Also worthy of appreciation is the aid given to the Tibetan refugees who have sought asylum in our country and I am glad that in co-operation with the Central Relief Committee for Tibetans the Red Cross has been able to make a substantial contribution towards medical relief for them. The generous help received from sister societies abroad for the alleviation of suffering in India, demonstrates once again the bond of fellowship that animates the far-flung members of this global organisation. I am glad that our Society was also able to render some assistance to other National Red Cross Societies which were faced with relief problems caused by natural calamities.

No other activity of the Red Cross has interested me more than that of its Maternity and Child Welfare Bureau which continues to render valuable service to the women and children of India by assisting the training of health personnel and providing expert advice on the maintenance and development of these services. Indeed, the foundation of a nation's health rests on the welfare of its little children and of the mothers of the race and it is a matter of credit to the Indian Red Cross to have pioneered this essential service. I am pleased to learn that the Society's welfare service for mothers and children in Tehri-Garhwal is making steady progress and that there are now six Red Cross centres functioning in that backward area.

I am glad that the Hospital Services Section has continued to provide medical treatment and nursing care to permanently disabled ex-servicemen at the Bangalore Red Cross Home and diversional therapy and amenities to military hospitals.

It is heartening to know that there has been a remarkable increase in the number of Junior Red Cross members and that the juniors are playing a valuable part in village improvement

*Address at the Annual General Meetings of the Indian Red Cross Society and St. John Ambulance Association on April 18, 1960.

work. The Junior Red Cross movement has developed from small beginnings to a powerful force of about 25 lakhs of children pledged to the practice of the cardinal rules of health and to carry on social service for others.

The decision of the Red Cross Society to set up a Blood Bank in Delhi is in keeping with the Society's responsibility for health services. This is a scheme that deserves encouragement from every citizen of the capital and it has my best wishes. I shall watch its progress with great interest.

The record of the St. John Ambulance Association is one of which it may well be proud because the number of persons trained and certificates issued by it is encouraging. It is gratifying to note that there has been an all-round improvement in the number of Brigade Divisions formed which will be of immense assistance on occasions of sickness or accident, those sudden blows of fate which, in a moment, overwhelm the ordinary routine of human life.

Before I close I should like to congratulate you all and your Branches on the good work done during the last year, and wish you success in your future efforts in the service of the suffering. I am, however, much concerned to hear about the recurring deficit in your budgets. The objectives of the Red Cross are non-controversial and their application impartial. It is an organisation to which all can extend sympathy, interest and support without any consideration of political, religious or other affiliations. Having regard to its services in the past it is my earnest hope that all our people will give it generous assistance to enable it to carry on and further expand its manifold humanitarian activities.

The Red Cross has gained universal world approbation because of the high ideals for which it stands. I am convinced that this spirit should prevail in every department of life if we are to have peace and amity within our own borders as well as in the world. The Red Cross is in a position to give a lead to all social workers. I would, therefore, appeal to all, particularly those employed in Red Cross and Ambulance work, to consider it a privilege to render service with the basic ideals of this great organisation ever before them and willingly to sacrifice for a great cause.

TAMIL DRAMA FESTIVAL*

It has given me great pleasure to be present here today to inaugurate the Tamil Drama Festival. I cannot claim to know much about the Tamil stage, or for that matter, about the stage in any part of the country, but I do know that the Tamil stage has a rich heritage. Tamil itself is probably the oldest spoken Indian language extant, going back to wellnigh two thousand years. It is not a matter of surprise, therefore, that this glorious heritage in literary tradition, coupled with the creative and artistic genius of the people, has resulted in an equally glorious stage tradition in Tamil Nad.

The revival of drama as of many other arts we owe in this country to the recent cultural renaissance, ushered in by the patriotic fervour of a people's struggle for freedom and, later on, to the forces released by political self-realisation. There is understandably a spurt in cultural activity all over the country. While there may be some who are not willing to view this development with unmixed feelings, I for one look upon true cultural activity as a sign of people's intellectual and emotional development. There can, therefore, be now two opinions about the significance or value of this renaissance. This holds particularly true of South India which, by and large, has been the repository of our cultural tradition and also of certain forms of our literary tradition.

I entirely agree with Shri Ramaswami that the revival of the stage and its sustenance is of the utmost importance from the cultural point of view. Cinema, apart from being a western innovation, is essentially associated with urban life, in this country at any rate. Nor are the roots of the silver screen that deep in our emotional life. The drama which is linked with our religious, social and cultural life makes a far deeper impress on our people. It has been, and I believe it still is, a powerful instrument for sustaining the pattern of our social and religious living. Above everything else, by virtue of being close to actual life, it strikes a responsive chord in our hearts. I have never, therefore, subscribed to the view that the cinema can ever be a substitute for the stage. The cinema is at best like tinned food, easily available and perhaps cheap, but it can never take the place of the home cooked food either in taste or true nutritive value. The drama has, therefore, to be encouraged and the more it ceases to be a commercial proposition and becomes the recreation of

*Speech at the inauguration of the Tamil Drama Festival at New Delhi on April 21, 1960.

the people, produced, managed and enjoyed by the people themselves, the more life-giving will it become.

I am very glad that the Tamil stage is fast coming into its own and that you have decided to build a permanent theatre in Delhi, thanks to the initiative and efforts of the South Indian Theatres. I have no doubt that you will get the necessary support not only from the large South Indian population in Delhi, but, let me hope, from others as well. Though it is situated in the heart of the North, Delhi is the Capital of our Republic and for that reason belongs as much to the South or East or West as to the North. We must strive to make it a truly cosmopolitan city. The University of Delhi, I am glad, has already made a beginning in this direction by introducing the study of Tamil and Telugu in the university curricula. Let us hope we shall live to see the day when all the languages representing India's various regions will have a sufficiently large number of patrons in Delhi to warrant each one of them establishing a permanent theatre in the Capital.

I am grateful to Shri Ramaswami and the South Indian Theatres to have given me this opportunity to have come here and to have met so many actors and actresses from Tamil Nad. Your venture has my best wishes and I wish the South Indian Theatres godspeed.

FREEDOM FROM HUNGER*

I am glad to have been asked to inaugurate in India the world-wide "Freedom from Hunger Campaign" under the auspices of the Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations. The struggle against hunger is as old as human civilization. There are not many countries in the world today which are able to produce as much food as they need. Though agricultural operations and the actual production of food are matters which fall within the purview of every country's national activities, the need to guarantee sufficient food for all human beings is a matter which has a universal aspect. It is only fitting, therefore, that the call for a campaign against hunger has come from the F.A.O. reminding member countries, which are 88 including India, of their obligation to intensify measures to solve the problem of food. It is particularly gratifying to me to note that at this critical time the head of this great international organization is an Indian.

All-round scientific and technological advance and use of improved agricultural methods in some countries and by some communities might obstruct a full and accurate view of the ugly face of this problem. It will do us good to know the actual position and face the realities of the situation. It is a fact that more food is produced today than at any previous time in history, but we are far away from being able to provide enough good food for everybody. Indeed, the world's food situation is perhaps more serious now than ever before. There are a number of reasons for it, one of the principal among them being the unprecedented rise in world population.

In the two hundred years between 1650 and 1850 the population of the world doubled. The population doubled once again in the 100 years between 1850 and 1950. The present rate of growth shows that world population will continue to increase and with it the gravity of food problems in vast areas. The situation is indeed alarming, and unless countries of the world do something tangible to increase the production of food, hunger may prove to be as deadly an enemy of man as any weapon of war. It is, therefore, one of our foremost needs that food production is able to keep pace with the ever larger requirements of the increasing population of the earth.

All that I have said just now about the world applies as well with ominous force to India, whose food and nutrition

*Broadcast Speech to the Nation on the occasion of the Inauguration of World-Wide "Freedom from Hunger Campaign".

standards are among the lowest in the world. The best that we can do by way of fulfilling our obligations under the charter of the F.A.O. is to strive to increase food production in our own country, in which about one-fifth of the world's population lives. It is true that India is making speedy progress in agricultural production. We have been able to achieve the production targets embodied in our first and second five-year plans. Besides, we have produced substantial quantities of cash crops, particularly jute, cotton, oil seeds and sugarcane to keep the wheels of our important industries moving. Nevertheless, the fact remains that as a nation we are still unable to produce enough to feed our people. Our diet is not only unbalanced but also deficient in terms of nutrition. Our consumption of cloth per capita is among the lowest in the world. There are large areas in the country where soil erosion is rampant and the fertility of our land is getting rapidly depleted. The income of our agriculturists is not only pitifully low but also extremely irregular as it is largely dependent on the vagaries of weather. On the other hand, our population is rising continuously and it may well be about 480 millions by the end of the Third Plan.

These facts are irritating and no less humiliating for a nation which is still primarily an agricultural country. If we have to meet the challenge of the situation, we must produce more and follow a balanced agricultural programme providing for additional production of dairy and poultry products, fruits and vegetables to meet the demands of an expanding urban and rural population and to promote gradual improvements in diets. It is clear that the targets fixed by our planners can be achieved only if an all-out emergency food programme is undertaken with the full co-operation of the Government, the farmer, the scientist and the public.

Never before has Government been so conscious of the need for giving agricultural production the highest priority. The Third Five-Year Plan is now in the process of being finalised. Provision has been made in it for an investment of Rs. 600 crores on agricultural programmes, Rs. 650 crores on major and medium irrigation projects, Rs. 400 crores on community development and co-operation and Rs. 250 crores for setting up fertiliser factories to provide the much-needed fertilisers to the farmers. All these schemes are designed to provide assistance to the farmers in the task of raising food production. But plans of assistance can prove effective only if tillers of the soil are guided properly and educated to take advantage of them. We need for this country-wide campaign. Top leaders of the Nation and village leaders

and institutions alike should join in this campaign to inspire all those engaged in agricultural work to develop and to carry out programmes that reach the village and individual cultivators. Never before has an opportunity presented such a challenge to our scientists to lessen the sinister role played by food shortage and hunger. Our land, generally speaking, is not wanting in natural fertility nor is there lack of water, if our water resources are harnessed and utilised. We need only human efforts and utilisation of scientific methods and equipments to increase the yield per acre. It is, therefore, a challenge not only to the ordinary cultivator but also to the scientists and technicians as also to the Government to see to it that this problem is solved by their co-ordinated and combined efforts. We shall thus remove not only one of our own constant headaches and anxieties but will also be contributing to the stabilisation of world conditions in this respect.

Fortunately, there is enough evidence to show that the great Powers too are becoming increasingly conscious of the role they can play to promote world economic development and international co-operation in the sphere of agricultural production. We welcome the recent agreement under P. L. 480 to supply over 17 million tons of foodgrains to India as a sincere gesture of the U.S.A. to help in our own national development.

Let me express the fervent hope that this spirit of co-operation will grow and further strengthen to enable this "Freedom From Hunger Campaign", which is being inaugurated throughout the world, to achieve concrete results by bettering the lot of the under-developed regions and thus exterminating the shame and misery of hunger.

ROLE OF ACCOUNTS & AUDIT DEPARTMENTS*

Mr. Chanda and Friends,

You will recollect that about two years ago I paid a visit to this institution at your request and this is the second time that I have been asked by you to come and meet the young friends who are going to take their onerous responsibilities after training. Much of what I may say today may be only a repetition of what I said then, but I think it bears repetition to remind all that in our Constitution we have given a very high place to audit. That is because we feel that in the interests of good administration, especially now when as a welfare State, the activities of the State are expanding at a tremendous rate and many things which were not at one time contemplated as coming within the scope of the State activities, are now gradually but nonetheless surely, being absorbed by the State and not only administrative functions, but also a great deal of industrial functions are now under the control of the State. It is for this reason that it is all the more necessary that the Audit Department should be well manned, well conducted and should act independently, fearlessly, without fear or favour.

As you have pointed out, the Constitution has recognized some agencies, some organs, as having some sort of an independent existence—not entirely independent in the sense that it has nothing to do with the others, but independent in the sense that it functions in its own way without being influenced and without being coerced by any other organ of the State : The Judiciary on one side, Audit on the other and Public Service Commission on the third side—these are some of the most important organs of the State which have to function independently. And I must say that we have no reason to complain of any of them not acting in the way in which they were expected to act. Our judiciary has maintained the highest standards which we have learnt to associate with the judiciary not only of this country but all the world over, and I must say the same with regard to our Audit Department because the Audit Department has a kind of function which brings it in close contact with administration in one important aspect and the integrity of our accounts entirely depends upon the way in which the Accounts and Audit Departments function. You have therefore a great responsibility for which you are being prepared in a very elaborate way. You are, I believe, going to have a course of two years training, and the two years' training is so framed as to enable

*Address to the I.A. & A.S. Trainees at Simla on the 27th May, 1960.

you not only to know all the details of working of accounts, not only to teach you what you have to do when you enter the service, but also to acquaint you with the constitutional position which the Audit Department occupies and the Constitution generally.

I have, therefore, every hope that when you enter upon your duties, you will be able to give as good an account of yourselves as your predecessors have done so far.

To you, Mr. Chanda, I have to say a few words because perhaps this is the last occasion when I shall be able to address you in a gathering like this.

You have had a distinguished career and held many high positions, some of the highest in our administrative system, and the last which you have held, you have filled with honour to yourself and with great profit and advantage to the country.

I congratulate you on what you have done, and I can only hope that your successors, whoever they may happen to be, will maintain the high tradition which you have created (applause). If every man in the service will fulfil that sense of honour and dignity which are absolutely necessary for good and honest administration, and I know your assistants and friends who are now going to take over the responsibilities will always bear in mind that while on the one hand they have to be strict in the discharge of their duties they have also to take the difficulties of those whose work they have to scrutinize into consideration with sympathy and with care : and if with sympathy and care they join integrity of purpose and fearlessness. I am quite sure they will all have discharged their duties to the satisfaction of all for the good of the country.

I wish you a good, happy and comfortable life in retirement. But I am sure this is not going to be the end of your activities because active as you are, and full of energy as you are today, I am quite sure in spite of the various restrictions, you will find some way to serve the country which you have served so well.

To you young people and friends, I give you a word of cheer and also wish for your success in the career which you are entering upon. Thank you.

AT TASHKENT*

Your Excellencies, Ladies and Gentlemen,

On touching the soil of the Soviet Union, I take this earliest opportunity of expressing my thanks to the Soviet Government and the Soviet people for inviting me to their country. I am touched by your warm welcome to me. I bring to the Soviet Government and the Soviet people the greetings and good wishes of the Government and the people of India. Although this is my first visit to the Soviet Union, it seems I am not coming to a strange land. We have heard so much of the achievements of the Soviet people during the last 40 years, and particularly during the last 7 years, that I feel we are coming to a country which is already familiar to me. I am looking forward to meeting your leaders and to seeing something of your achievements. And if my visit to your country contributes even in a small measure to strengthening the friendship between our two countries, I shall regard my labour amply rewarded. I thank you again.

*Reply to the Speech of Welcome at the Tashkent Airport while on his way to Moscow on the 20th June, 1960.

A VOYAGE OF DISCOVERY*

I wish to thank you all most sincerely for the kind and gracious welcome which you have given me on my arrival here today. We have been happy to welcome to our country many of your distinguished leaders. We recall with pleasure the visits that His Excellency Mr. Khrushchev and Their Excellencies Mr. Voroshilov, Mr. Kozlov and Madame Furtseva paid to India only a few months ago—visits which brought a greater knowledge and understanding between our two countries.

I have looked forward to visiting your country which, geographically speaking, is almost a neighbour of India. I am very happy that I have now been able to undertake this journey which, I am sure, will be a voyage of discovery for me personally. We have heard many things about the great and striking progress that your country has made and the gigantic task of rebuilding which was completed after the destruction and the suffering of the second World War. We have heard about your remarkable scientific and technical achievements and the pioneering work done by your scientists in the exploration of outer space and of the worlds that lie beyond. And, most of all, we have heard about the great strides that have been made in the industrial and agricultural fields in your country, the fruits of which have brought prosperity and high-living standards to the people of the Soviet Union.

We in India became the masters of our destiny only a short while ago. Since then, we have been turning our national energies increasingly to raising our living standards—by rapid industrialisation and improving our agriculture. In both these fields we have received generous assistance from your country. Indeed, with the progress of Science, the world has shrunk so much that the problems of the world have, in a sense, become common to all countries. Overshadowing them all, however, is the question of world peace, without which the striking progress achieved by man everywhere will be lost—perhaps for ever. In this task of working for world peace, your great leader, Mr. Khrushchev, has played a leading role. We sincerely hope that his efforts and those of leaders of other great countries working for the same cause would be successful so that mankind may be rid of the fear of war.

May I thank you once again for your kind welcome, which I take as a tribute to the friendly feelings which the great Soviet people have for the people of India and say again how much I am looking forward to visiting your country, meeting your people and seeing some of your remarkable achievements.

*Speech on arrival in Moscow on 20th June 1960.

INDO-SOVIET FRIENDSHIP*

I have been very touched by the many kind and flattering things which have been said about me and my country. I take them as the expression of the affection and goodwill which the Government and the people of your great country have for my country and my people. Though the frontiers of your country have, geographically speaking, not been very far from us, there had been but little direct contact between us until our independence. The visit of my Prime Minister, Shri Jawaharlal Nehru, to the Soviet Union in 1955 and the visit of your Prime Minister, His Excellency Mr. Khrushchev, to India in 1956, began a new era in forging fresh bonds between our two countries which, we sincerely hope, will continue to grow closer with the passage of years. The visit of Their Excellencies Mr. Voroshilov, Mr. Kozlov and Madame Furtseva which was followed by the second visit paid by your great leader, His Excellency Mr. Khrushchev, to India earlier this year not only brought to us a greater understanding of each other but further developed the close and personal understanding between the leaders of the two countries which is of very great importance. In this rapidly shrinking world, in which every country has become the neighbour of every other country, this close understanding between the leaders of your country and of mine is of much significance for, though the nature of your struggle and ours has been different, there are many ideals which we share in common. Like you, we are striving for the good of the common man in our country, who for centuries had been denied economic opportunities for giving him a reasonable standard of living. Like you a few decades earlier, we are now embarked on a gigantic industrialisation of our country—along with improvements in our age-old agricultural methods—which will not only change the face of India but bring to our 400 million people opportunities for a new life which did not exist before. In this we have received the generous help of your Government, as of many other friendly Governments. The modern steel plant at Bhilai, standing in the midst of a countryside which had not changed for centuries, the vast agricultural farm at Suratgarh, the huge machine building factories which will shortly go up at Ranchi, the many oil wells which are sprouting on the western shores of India—these are a few of the projects in which we have had your ready assistance. I am happy to think that your experience and the skill of your experts will assist us in the building of the New India on which we have embarked.

*Speech at the Soviet Banquet in President's Honour on 21st June, 1960.

But it is not only in factories and farms that our two peoples are beginning to get to know each other. Art and culture, it has been said, know no frontiers. We are glad, therefore, that cultural exchanges between the Soviet Union and India have been growing. In the fields of dance and drama, films and music—to say nothing of literature—there has been a growing awareness of each others' heritage and progress.

And, finally, there is the growing collaboration between the leaders of your country and mine in the field of international affairs, in the United Nations and elsewhere, and above all in the task of maintaining world peace. We have been living through a crucial period of human history. Science and technology have placed in the hands of mankind the possibility both for its succour as well as its destruction. A special responsibility rests on great countries such as yours to help in preserving the world from war and destruction. The task is not easy, there have been setbacks, but it is only through patience, determination and constant striving that the fear of war, which has been clouding man's mind for so long, can be removed. Once that is achieved, the diversion of the staggering expenditure on armaments, which is at present a burden on mankind, might well become the means for revitalising the economies of the underdeveloped peoples of the world.

In the endeavour for disarmament and world peace which your country is making you have our best wishes. Addressing our Parliament a few months ago in New Delhi, your Prime Minister said that "Like unbound Prometheus, the peoples of Asia and Africa are straightening their mighty shoulders starting to build a new life for themselves." The one pre-condition for the success of these mighty efforts—which are now convulsing a significant part of the world—is the continuance of peace and tranquillity in the world. This is a task in which all of us must co-operate because the price of failure would be disastrous.

May I, in conclusion, thank you once again for the very friendly sentiments which have been expressed this evening for my country and for myself and express the hope that may our understanding and affection grow in a common endeavour for peace, goodwill and happiness for all.

DINNER BY REPRESENTATIVES OF BANDUNG COUNTRIES*

Your Excellencies, Ladies and Gentlemen,

I appreciate the honour which the representatives of the Bandung countries have done me by inviting me to be their guest this evening. In a sense, Bandung represents the end of one epoch in the history of Asia and Africa and the beginning of another. Much has happened in these two huge continents since then. Some of these developments might not be to the liking of all of us, but there can be no gain-saying the fact that the march to complete liberation of Asia and Africa from colonial rule continues unimpeded. If another similar conference were to be called today, at least 39 countries would join the conference and not 29 as in April 1955. The destinies of most peoples in Asia and Africa were controlled for centuries not by the people themselves but by alien rulers. Bandung gave notice to the world that Asia and Africa were determined to decide and pursue their own independent policies and not bow to decisions taken for them by others. In that sense, the Bandung Conference was an important landmark on the road to the complete liberation of Asia and Africa.

The countries assembled at Bandung five years ago set before themselves a number of objectives. On one point the participants were most emphatic; that is the condemnation of racialism as a means of cultural suppression. The hopes of the Bandung countries in this respect remain yet to be fulfilled. In recent months in one part of Africa racialism has reared its head in a particularly ugly form. I have no doubt, however, that human dignity and human freedom cannot be suppressed for all time to come and that those who are seeking to enforce a policy of racialism are running against the tide of history.

I take this opportunity to express our joy at the achievement of freedom by a number of countries in Africa since the meeting at Bandung. A sleeping giant has awakened from its slumber and one by one the African countries are shaking off their centuries-old shackles of foreign domination. In their struggle for independence they have had the moral support and sympathy of their Asian brethren. Independence is no longer an issue either in Africa or in Asia. The question is one of consolidating freedom by giving it a broad economic base. In this there is considerable room for mutual co-operation and assistance amongst

*Speech at the Bandung Dinner in Moscow, on 22nd June, 1960.

the Asian-African countries themselves. Indeed one of the main objects of the Bandung Conference was to discuss ways and means by which the Asian and African peoples could achieve fuller economic, cultural and political co-operation. We shall welcome assistance from the more highly developed countries of the world, but we have to depend primarily on our own efforts. Many countries have been unstinted in their assistance. Standing before our Soviet guests this evening, I must express in particular our appreciation of the generous assistance that we in Asia and Africa have received from the Soviet Union. We are grateful for this to the Soviet Government and the Soviet leaders.

Let us hope that the friendship and goodwill generated at Bandung will grow stronger and stronger, that in our day-to-day working and actual dealings with one another and with other nations, particularly with Bandung countries, all of us shall act in a manner calculated to foster and strengthen that spirit

Excellencies, Ladies and Gentlemen, I would now ask you to join me in drinking a toast to the freedom and prosperity of the countries in Asia and Africa, to mutual collaboration between Asia and Africa and the rest of the world, and in particular to co-operation between Asia and Africa and the Soviet Union.

RECEPTION BY THE LEADERS & PEOPLE OF LENINGRAD*

Your Excellencies and Dear Friends,

It has been a great pleasure for me to be in the great city of Leningrad. I had heard and read a great deal about the beauty of the city and the quality of its people. What I have seen, however, has exceeded even my expectations. What struck me most, as a student of history, was the almost perfect blend of different traditions, old and new, imperial and revolutionary, such as we have in our own Delhi. To this you have added a glorious page during the last war, when the people of Leningrad reached heights of fortitude and courage. Thus, this historic city has come to be known as "The Hero City". To have seen all this in an atmosphere of great cordiality and friendship was a unique privilege for which I am deeply grateful to the authorities and citizens of Leningrad.

The Founder of this great city, though born to autocratic traditions, saw visions of democracy. It was, therefore, right and proper that the revolution, which not only shook Russia but the world, was born here under the leadership of a great man, whose memory is treasured by almost every stone in this great city. It is a great pleasure to see that the City Fathers, while engaged in the task of building edifice of a new Russia, are maintaining intact what was great and good in the past. A visit to the Hermitage this evening has, therefore, been as enthralling an experience to me as the visit to the Baltic Shipyard yesterday. My only regret is that I have not been able to spend as much time with you as I would have wished to do.

With your permission, I would refer in particular to my visit to the Leningrad Branch of the Oriental Studies this morning. I was delighted to find that distinguished Soviet Scholars are devoting their entire lives to the study of Oriental languages and culture. I value in particular the books which Academician Orbeli presented to me this morning. I shall treat them as a token of deep friendship of the City of Leningrad for my country.

Excellencies and Dear Friends, I am greatly touched by the warm reception accorded to me by the leaders and the people of this great city. To many in this city India is a strange

*Speech at the Banquet given in his honour at Leningrad on 24th June, 1960.

land; but your friendship and cordiality has swept away all barriers and make me feel that I am amongst friends. It is only on the basis of friendship, sympathy and goodwill between man and man and country and country that the future of the world can be ensured.

Excellencies and Dear Friends, I would now request you to join me in drinking a toast to the health and well-being of our host this evening, His Excellency Mr. Smirnov, to the great city of Leningrad and to friendship between India and the Soviet Union

DEMONSTRATION OF FRIENDSHIP & AFFECTION LEADERS & THE PEOPLE OF KIEV*

Your Excellencies and Friends,

First of all I would like to express my gratitude to the leaders of the Ukraine Republic and the people of Kiev for the most cordial reception which they have given me. I was greatly touched by their spontaneous demonstration of friendship and affection for me and for my people.

Yesterday morning, when I left Leningrad, I felt and said that I was sorry to leave such a historic city. I also described Leningrad as a heroic City. I do not think I can find two epithets more suitable for Kiev too. Indeed, your history goes even further back. When I was standing before the Cathedral of St. Sofia and cruising on the Dnieper, I felt that a thousand years of history were rolling before my eyes.

You have, however, not been content with your past glories. You are building a new and fuller and richer life for your people. My visit to the Economic Exhibition last evening and the collective farm this morning showed what a vital part the Ukraine is playing in the development of the Soviet Union, both in industrial and agricultural field.

I am glad to note that the Ukraine is playing a part in the development of my country, too. A number of factories in the Ukraine are turning out essential machines and parts of machines for India. Hundreds of Indian engineers are also undergoing training in various parts of the Ukraine, such as Zaporozhye, Dniepro-Petrovsk and Stalino. Enriched by their work and studies amongst you, these engineers will go back to India, and especially to Bhillai, that fine monument of Indo-Soviet cooperation.

I have no doubt that during our next Five Year Plan, which is now being conceived on a grander scale than its predecessors, many more monuments of this type will arise in India and further strengthen the friendship between our two countries.

It is not merely for its material benefits that we value our friendship with the Soviet Union. We firmly believe that this friendship is, and will continue to be increasingly, a factor for world peace. The attainment of peace by peaceful means is the cardinal goal of our foreign policy. That is why we feel

*Speech at the Reception held in his honour in Kiev on 26th June, 1960

that the Soviet Government's proposals for general and complete disarmament are worthy of the most earnest consideration.

I shall carry with me the most pleasant memories of my visit to this beautiful city. Let me conclude, as I began, by thanking you again fervently for the warm reception which was given to me and the kind sentiments which you have expressed regarding my country and my people.

Excellencies and Dear Friends, I would now request you to join me in a toast to the Government and people of the Soviet Socialist Republic of Ukraine, to friendship between the people of India and the people of the Soviet Union and to peace throughout the world.

RECEPTION TO SOVIET PRESIDENT & PRIME MINISTER IN MOSCOW*

**Your Excellency Mr. Brezhnev, Your Excellency, Mr. Khrushchev
Excellencies, Ladies and Gentlemen,**

I have great pleasure in welcoming the Head of the Soviet Union and His Excellency the Prime Minister and their distinguished colleagues this evening. I also extend a hearty welcome to our other honoured guests.

I am now half way on my voyage of discovery of the Soviet Union. What I have seen during the last few days has left a powerful impression on me. But what has touched me most is the warmth of friendship and welcome which the people and leaders of this great country have extended to me and other members of my party wherever we have been. We are overwhelmed by this evidence of sympathy and goodwill which the Soviet Union has for India. I feel sure that the bonds of friendship between our two countries, which were so greatly reinforced by the recent visits of the Soviet Prime Minister and the other Soviet leaders to India, will grow firmer and stronger as the years pass.

There is much to learn from the history of this great country. A visitor cannot but be greatly impressed by the phenomenal progress which the Soviet Union has made in all fields of human endeavour. That a people, 80 per cent, of whom were illiterate in 1917, should attain the present heights of progress and prosperity in less than half a century, has a message of hope for all the underdeveloped countries of the world. The greatest need for all of us, irrespective of our social and political systems, is the proper planning and harnessing of the human and material resources under inspiring leadership.

Of what use, however, would material prosperity be without peace? Humanity has been familiar with war and violence since the dawn of history. With the development of nuclear science, however, the instruments of death and destruction have been perfected to such an extent that the choice before mankind is no longer one between victory and defeat, but between life and utter annihilation. People all over the world realise the gravity of the situation. To those of us in Asia and Africa, who have only recently become free after long periods of subjection, this terrible prospect appears at a time when we are looking

*Speech at his Reception to the Soviet President and the Soviet Prime Minister in Moscow on 29th June, 1960.

forward to the future with much expectation and hope. We are, therefore, watching with special concern the efforts which the Soviet Government, under the leadership of His Excellency Mr. Khrushchev, are making to secure peace in the world. I would like to express our sincere hope that the efforts of the Soviet Union and the other great countries in the world to find a solution to the problem of peace and war may bear fruit so that science and technology may be harnessed for the happiness of man and not for his destruction.

Your Excellency Mr. Brezhnev and Your Excellency Mr. Khrushchev, I bring to your Government and to your people the good wishes of the Government and the people of India. I thank you for the very warm welcome which you have given to us. I also thank the other distinguished guests who have honoured us by their presence here this evening.

Excellencies, ladies and gentlemen, I would now ask you to join with me in a toast to the health of His Excellency Mr. Brezhnev and His Excellency Mr. Khrushchev and their distinguished colleagues, to the prosperity and welfare of the Soviet people, to co-operation and friendship between India and the Soviet Union, and to peace and goodwill between the peoples of all countries in the world.

UNIVERSITIES, A POSSIBLE SOURCE OF SUPPORT TO WORLD PEACE*

Your Excellencies, Director and other Members of the Moscow University, students and dear friends,

I am grateful to the authorities of the Moscow University for their kindness in not only extending an invitation to me, but also in conferring on me a Doctorate. I accept this honour with thanks.

The name and fame of the Moscow University have spread far and wide, and it is well known that in cultural and scientific matters, very important work has been carried on. I am, therefore, naturally glad that it has been possible for me to pay a visit and acquire information about your working, and also to make personal acquaintance with you all.

During my tour, the people of the Soviet Union and its leaders have everywhere shown warmth of feeling and friendly appreciation not only me personally, but also of my country. At Leningrad I had an opportunity of meeting some of the learned workers at the Oriental Research Institute, and I could also see how study and translation of researches into ancient and modern Indian literature have been going on. And today I have not only got personal acquaintance with the teachers and researchers of this University and gained an idea of its working, but you have also extended to me your kind welcome and conferred on me the Degree of a Doctorate. I am very thankful for it, and I accept this Degree with due respect and appreciation. I do not regard it as an honour only to me personally, but as a sign of goodwill of the Soviet people towards the people of my country. My heart is therefore full.

In my country, the acquisition of knowledge has always been regarded as the highest and most desirable objective for man. In our books acquisition of knowledge has been described as the greatest ideal of life. I believe that the usefulness of a university consists in the acquisition and propagation of knowledge. This knowledge has been divided into two categories—one category relates to all knowledge relating to external things; the other relates to the knowledge of ones own self which is called self-knowledge. In other words, we have divided knowledge into material and spiritual. The physical science has, in modern times, reached such height, depth and width, the very conception of which was not possible to man some time ago. The

*Speech at the Moscow University on 30th June, 1960.

greatest step that has been recently taken is that man has acquired much knowledge about space. It has become possible to think that relation between this earth and the planets and other bodies in space will become widened and that sooner or later, physical communication and movement of man between them will become as easy and common as it is between two places on earth today. What was at one time only in the imagination and thought of man has now become a reality and man, with the help of instruments which he himself has invented, is able, in spite of the limited power of his senses, to acquire practical knowledge of such things. The scientists, technicians and other learned men of your country have already acquired world-wide fame.

The other category of knowledge on which my country has always laid stress, has relation to man's knowledge of himself. I do not wish to enter into a controversy whether what is considered as the spiritual aspect of man is determined by physical causes or not. I want only to say this, that whatever may be the cause of such spiritual forces and in whatever way they may be created, they have got their place and they influence man. Man carries on his life's work and tries to make himself happy with the help of all the forces at his command, whether they are derived from his surroundings or they arise from within. In my humble opinion the time has arrived when man should realise that it is not by his conquest of nature and the objects created thereby that he can make himself happy or acquired security. It is necessary and essential that he should acquire control over himself so that he may learn not only how to use these powers for adding to his prosperity and happiness, but also acquire the strength which will not only enable him to regard their use as harmful and unforgivable: Rather he should acquire internal strength to end for ever their misuse. I think it will not be inappropriate to say that the good of man lies in a synthesis of physical and spiritual forces. I do hope and believe that physical might guided and controlled by spiritual power, will take mankind in the right direction. It is necessary to establish a synthesis so that man may claim it as an achievement and also he may remain alive. If it was necessary at any time to adopt these in man's life, it has become inevitable for him now to adopt it.

Universities can spread true knowledge of this axiomatic truth and in this way the learned can contribute to the establishment of peace. The Universities, by propagating this idea, can support and render help to the admirable efforts which your

leaders have been making for disarmament and establishment of peace. It is my earnest hope and wish that the Moscow University, which is so determined and devoted to the acquisition and spread of knowledge, will give additional strength to the leaders of the Soviet Union.

I wish to thank you once again for the honour you have done me. It is my earnest hope that the very friendly relations which have been established between your and my country will go on gaining strength from day today, so that we may both continue to work in the interests of world peace. May we be able to demonstrate in a practical way that Russi and Hindi are Bhai Bhai !

FRIENDSHIP MEETING BETWEEN THE USSR & INDIA*

Your Excellencies and Dear Friends,

I am very grateful to the citizens of Moscow, to the workers as well as to the intelligentsia, for having organised this meeting on the occasion of my visit to the Soviet Union. This striking manifestation of friendship towards my country and my people has touched me deeply. I shall not fail to convey your affectionate sentiments to my people when I return to India next week.

This meeting forms the climax of many demonstrations of friendship which I have witnessed wherever I went, from magnificent Leningrad in the North to sunny Sochi in the South. Wherever I went I found the people happy, hard-working, devoted to peace, inquisitive about India and enthusiastic about Indo-Soviet friendship.

You have rightly called this gathering the Friendship Meeting between the USSR and India. Yet, 20 years ago—why, even 15 years ago—such a meeting would have been inconceivable. Then our two countries were almost strangers. Physically, the Himalayas were an insuperable obstacle. Politically, we had no relations with each other. Culturally, there were few contacts between us. And ideologically, we had gross misunderstanding about each other.

Yet, even during this period, our peoples had a certain attraction for each other. Though our knowledge of the Revolution of 1917 was limited, we felt that it was a mighty even which was bound to affect the course of humanity. In the same year, 1917, there appeared in India a great man who transformed the movement of freedom in India from the concern of a few politically-minded person, to an upsurge of the masses. I need hardly say I am referring to the Father of our Nation, Mahatma Gandhi. In his bitter and protracted struggle against arrogant racial domination in South Africa, Gandhiji had already forged those weapons of Satyagraha or soul force, and non-violent, non-co-operation weapons with which India eventually won independence. It is pleasant to recall that in formulating his philosophy and planning out his campaign, Gandhiji was deeply influenced by a kindred spirit in Russia, Leo Tolstoy who, too, deeply felt the inequity of racial and political domination in various parts of the world.

*Address to the Friendship Society at Moscow on 30th June, 1960.

I have just said that there was not much contact between India and Russia before our country attained independence. Yet, the few contacts that there were, were invaluable. Jawaharlal Nehru was present at the 10th Anniversary of the October Revolution and, on his return to India, he wrote a series of articles about his impressions of Russia which opened our people's eyes to the historic happenings here. Rabindranath Tagore, too, visited Russia and was most warmly received. I am happy to learn that the centenary of the birth of Tagore is going to be worthily celebrated in the Soviet Union in 1961 and that, one of Tagore's play, "Chitra", has just been produced as a ballet in Kubyshev. I understand that other Indian ballets and plays are under production in Moscow.

One of the first acts of the Government of India, after the attainment of independence, was to establish diplomatic relations with the USSR. During the first few years, however, the relations between our two countries were somewhat passive. But during the last six or seven years, there has been a great blossoming of Indo-Soviet friendship. This was a natural development and was bound to come about. Yet, if any two events accelerated this process, they were the visit of Jawaharlal Nehru to the Soviet Union in the summer of 1955 and of Mr. Khrushchev to India a few months later. Apart from the personal contacts, which were thus firmly established, these visits resulted in the deepening of the understanding and appreciation of each other's policies. The 20th Congress, which was held soon after these visits, declared that the peaceful co-existence of nations, following different social and political systems was the first kernel of the Soviet policy. This historic declaration removed any misunderstandings that might have still lingered in people's minds. A few days ago, I noted with special pleasure, Mr. Khrushchev's recent reaffirmation to this policy, despite the dire events in the month of May.

On the foundation thus carefully laid down by our leaders, a fine super-structure of Indo-Soviet collaboration is growing up. I need only mention a few names—The Bhilai Metallurgical Plant, the Suratgarh State Farm, the Cambay Oil Project, the Beroni Oil Refinery and the Ranchi Machine Building Plant—in order to show how beneficent and comprehensive this collaboration has been. I have no doubt that the Third Five Year Plan, which eclipses its predecessors in range and magnitude, will provide far greater opportunities for our two countries to co-operate with each other in the great task of nation-building.

In building up our nation, we are also building up peace. To all sceptics and cynics to the Right and to the Left, the USSR and India have shown that two great countries, following different traditions and holding different philosophy, can freely and happily co-operate, not only in promoting the people's welfare, but in promoting peace. May this friendship between India and the Soviet Union, which is as immovable as the Himalayas and yet has overcome even the Himalayas, in their determination to get closer to each other, remain for ever as a beacon to the policy of not merely peaceful but fruitful co-existence. Let me conclude these remarks by echoing the cry which I heard wherever I went in the Soviet Union, "Long Live Peace throughout the World".

RUSSI HINDI BHAI BHAI*

Your Excellencies, Chairman and Members of the Supreme Soviet, Excellencies, respected guests and dear friends, I am most grateful to His Excellency Brezhnev for the very kind words which he has spoken about me and my country. I greatly value them because I know that they come from genuine friends of my country. I have been for ten days in the Soviet Union and tomorrow I am leaving Moscow on my way back home. I am particularly happy that I shall have the opportunity of visiting two Asian members of the Soviet Union before I finally leave Soviet territory.

These have been ten memorable days and they have left an indelible impression on me. From the time I set foot on the Soviet soil I have been overwhelmed by the friendship and hospitality of the Soviet people and their government. The cheering and enthusiasm of the people, young and old, men and women, wherever I have been during the last ten days, have reminded me of enthusiastic crowds in my country. I have been overwhelmed by this mass demonstration of friendship and cannot adequately express my thanks to the Soviet people. Excellencies, I came as a stranger to your country but you and your people have welcomed me as a dear friend and as I am about to leave, I feel sad. For, parting with a friend is always sad. I have said that the impressions on me during the last ten days have been overwhelming. I have visited old cathedrals, museums and art galleries. I have also seen a collective farm and your agricultural and industrial exhibitions in Moscow and in Kiev. I am powerfully impressed by the tremendous progress which you have made in every field. That you have been able to achieve so much and within such a short time has a lesson for all of us in underdeveloped countries. Your collective farms and your huge industrial projects represent one aspect of Soviet progress in recent years; the loving care with which you are protecting your past heritages, in your libraries, museums, art galleries and other cultural centres is an eloquent expression of your pride in the past history of your country. As I said in Leningrad, Soviet life and culture today represents a happy blending of the past and the present; of art and science.

Your Excellencies, Chairman and Members of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet, your country and mine have come very close to each other in recent years. Many of our Ministers and

*Reply at the reception by the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet on 30th June, 1960.

leaders in other walks of life have been to the Soviet Union. Our young men are receiving their training in your factories. Even today we have in Moscow a senior member of my Government, Shri Morarji Desai. A few days ago our Minister of Oil and Mines was here discussing future development plans with the members of your Government. We have received very substantial assistance from the Soviet Government during the past five years. This has enabled us to carry out and plan a number of industrial and agricultural projects. I have read with much interest the details of your Seven Year Plan. We in our country are at present engaged in working out the outline of our Third Five Year Plan. Compared with you we are still at early stages of the economic development of our country. We know that we have to rely on our own efforts for the progress of our country but I am happy to say that we have received very substantial assistance from a number of friendly countries in the execution of our First and Second Five Year Plans. May I say that we are most grateful to the Soviet Government for the generous and unconditional assistance which you have given to us. Bhilai stands as a monument of Indo-Soviet friendship and understanding but there are other projects in India also which have been made possible by Soviet assistance. I may be allowed to hope that such practical demonstration of Indo-Soviet friendship will continue in the years to come. Two days ago I had the pleasure of planting a friendship tree in the public part at Sochi. I then, expressed the hope that the friendship between the Soviet Union and India would last for as many centuries as that tree would last for years. I wish to repeat this expression of hope this evening.

Your Excellencies, I have been for a very short period in this country and would not ordinarily lend myself to any general statement. I cannot, however, let this occasion pass without referring to one thing which has powerfully impressed me during the last ten days. I have watched crowds of working people enjoying their holiday at Sochi; I have seen thousands of young men and women participating in a festival in Kiev. I feel convinced that the Soviet people under the wise leadership of His Excellency Mr. Khrushchev want nothing more than to live at peace and enjoy the fruits which economic and material progress has brought them. Mr. Khrushchev is a firm believer in the policy of co-existence; so are we in India. He does not believe that war is inevitable; so do we not. This sharing of common ideals provides a bond between our two countries which, I am sure, will increase in the years to come. When, therefore, I heard large crowds at all the places I have visited saying Hindi

Russi Bhai Bhai I reciprocated their feelings wholeheartedly
May I say again Russi Hindi Bhai Bhai.

Your Excellencies and dear friends, may I request you to
join me in a toast to the Members of the Supreme Soviet, the
Soviet People, friendship between India and the Soviet Union
and to peace throughout the world.

BIDDING FAREWELL ON THE TELEVISION*

Dear Friends, I am happy to speak to you tonight. It is with a feeling of sadness that I shall be leaving Moscow tomorrow morning on my way back to India. I have been with you for ten days. From the day I set foot in your country ten days ago until now, wherever I have been, I have felt greatly touched by your friendship and kindness. I thank you for this. Whether it is Moscow, Leningrad, Kiev or Sochi, men and women of your country, young and old, have greeted me with cries of Mir and Durshba. The people in my country share the same feelings and same sentiments. I shall carry your greetings to my people. I shall tell them from first-hand experience how you have built up your country and have continued to do so. I am sure they will be happy to know how material progress has made you still more anxious to share the benefits of peace and friendship with the rest of the world. Yours is a beautiful country and nature has endowed it with limitless resources. Your riches are not reserved for a few but meant for all. We in India have also set out aims on happiness and prosperity of the common man and woman. For this we require peace. That is the reason why the Government and people of India attach so much importance to the creation of conditions in which people can live and work without concern about their future and the future of their children and grandchildren. I shall tell my people when I return home the story of the progress which you have made in the short period of just over 40 years. You were brave in war; you are now brave in peace. I convey to you the best wishes of my people and their hope that the friendship between our two countries will grow still stronger as the years pass. I thank you again. Good-bye.

*Speech on the Television in Moscow on 30th June, 1960.

BIDDING FAREWELL TO THE PEOPLE OF MOSCOW*

I would like to thank your Government, your leaders and your people for the very friendly and gracious welcome which we have been given everywhere during our visit to your great country. I had read a great deal about the progress which you have made in industry, agriculture, technology and science; I had heard much from your distinguished leaders whom we had the pleasure of welcoming in India. I have now been able to see for myself the striking progress which you have made and the even greater achievements which the future promises.

I have also seen the friendliness of your people and I have been touched by the warmth of their welcome wherever I have been—from Moscow and Leningrad to Kiev and Sochi. This is a friendliness that the people of your country have in common with the people of India, who have welcomed your great leaders, Mr. Khrushchev, Mr. Voroshilov and others, with equal sincerity and goodwill during their visits to our country.

There is need today for fostering this spirit of goodwill and friendliness among peoples everywhere. It is imperative that humanity's march forward should not be arrested by the devastation of modern nuclear war. It is in this respect that great powers, such as the USSR, carry a heavy responsibility on their shoulders to ensure that science continues to enrich humanity, and not destroy it.

In bidding you all farewell today, I would like to convey to you the sincere good wishes of our people, wishing you prosperity, happiness and—above all—peace.

*Farewell Speech at the time of Departure from Moscow on 1st July, 1960.

DINNER PARTY AT STALINABAD*

Your Excellencies and Dear Friends,

I am very grateful to you for the warm reception which you have given me. I appreciate this particularly as Tajikistan is our nearest neighbour. A visit to Tajikistan was long overdue. We have had the pleasure of receiving some of the distinguished leaders of Tajikistan in India, whom I am glad to see here today and with whom I am happy to renew my acquaintance. No Indian leader, however, has so far been able to visit Tajikistan. My Prime Minister, Jawaharlal Nehru, had the good fortune to visit Uzbekistan and to have glimpses of Kazakhstan and Turkmenistan, but unfortunately he was not able to come to Tajikistan. Our Vice-President visited Kazakhstan, but was unable to come here. I am glad that it has fallen to me to fulfill this neglected duty.

Even the few hours during which I have been here, I have been realising how great is the affinity between India and Tajikistan. Last night I saw a beautiful picture of Tajikistan. When I was seeing the film, I wondered whether I was really in Tajikistan or whether I was in our own Kashmir. The great mountains, covered with snow, the deep, ravines, the fine meadows, the fruits, the flowers and the nets—all reminded me of parts of our own country.

What has impressed me is not only the beauty of your Republic but the progress which it has made during the last few decades. This progress is the more astonishing when one remembers how backward all this area used to be before the Revolution. I note that in Tajikistan you are developing industries which are particularly suitable for this region. My visit to collective farm this afternoon was a eye-opener to the progress you have made in agriculture. Culturally, too, you have not lagged behind other Republics in Central Asia and you can hold your own even with the Republics in Western Russia. The progress which you have achieved has a lesson for India, though our tradition, philosophy and social system do not exactly correspond to yours.

Another feature which has impressed me greatly is the equality of your multi-national State. I note that different races inhabit this Republic and yet there is perfect harmony between them.

When I go back to India, I shall tell my Government and my people of the great progress which has been achieved by, what

*Speech at the Dinner Party at Stalinabad, on 2nd July, 1960.

one may almost call, our sister Republic, Tajikistan; the inter-racial brotherhood that prevails among the people here; and the devotion to peace which your people share with all the other peoples in the Soviet Union and with my own people. I shall also tell them of the kindness and hospitality which you lavished on a complete stranger like myself. I know that this consideration has been extended not to me personally, but to the people whom I have the honour to represent. Let me thank you once more for all this and say, Salaam Alekum !

RECEPTION AT TASHKENT

Your Excellencies and Dear Friends,

I am grateful to the Chairman of the Supreme Soviet of the Uzbekistan Republic for the very kind sentiments which she has expressed. I am also grateful for the warm friendship and hospitality which you have extended to me.

During the last two weeks, I have travelled much in the Soviet Union. Wherever I went, I met with overwhelming kindness on the part of all sections of people. I have formed a number of impressions which I must sort out at leisure. The foremost amongst my impressions is the grandeur of the progress which the Soviet Union has made in so short a span as four decades. This progress has been the more remarkable in the Central Asian Republics because of their conditions forty years ago. Yesterday I came away from Stalinabad a fine modern city, which, I was told, was just a little village, with a single street lamp, alit with kerosene oil, before the Revolution. Tashkent and Samarkand, too, have grown out of recognition. It would not be too much to say that many parts of Central Asia have, during the last forty years, leapt from the medieval, or even the primitive, age to the modern period.

This transformation of Soviet Central Asia has a special significance for countries which are still underdeveloped. Our Government realises that they cannot wait for the slow and gradual disappearance of such evils as poverty, illiteracy, ignorance and disease. These require radical treatment. I recall with pleasure the very substantial assistance which we have received from the Soviet Government in the development of our economy. In many vital sectors, such as steel, oil, machine-building and pharmaceuticals, India has had the benefit of the advice and assistance of the Soviet experts; and Indian and Soviet technicians have been working together in close co-operation and collaboration. The range and scale of such co-operation will be far greater in our next Five Year Plan, which will be decisive for India's future; and I have no doubt that the Soviet Government will extend its sympathy and help in ample measure to the execution of this Plan.

Yesterday I had the pleasure of visiting a city which always had a certain fascination for me, Samarkand. There, as elsewhere in the Soviet Union, I noticed with what reverent care

*Speech at the Reception given in his Honour by the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the Uzbek SSR at Tashkent on 4th July, 1960.

you have been renovating ancient buildings, excavating old ruins and preserving your cultural heritage. Between India and Uzbekistan, there have been contacts of various kinds from time immemorial. There are ample historical proofs available, that with the spread of Buddhism in Central India, Indian ideas and Indian culture spread into these regions also. Through the route of Kashmir and Kandhar the philosophy of India travelled through Central Asia right up to Siberia. This period of history is still the subject of investigation and research by scholars. I was interested to learn that within Uzbekistan recent excavations have discovered not only a whole Buddhist temple but also a golden image of the Buddha in it.

A relationship of a different type was established when Babar came to India from Ferghana, not far from Samarkand. It was one of his descendants Shah Jahan who built the Taj and gave to India an imperishable work of art. Now, our relations with Uzbekistan and, indeed, with the entire Soviet Union, have entered a new phase. There have been exchange of visits between your leaders, artistes, singers, dancers and writers, and ours. All this has increased the mutual esteem which we feel for each other and our common desire for peace. Wherever I travelled in the Soviet Union, I noticed the people's horror of war and yearning for peace. I also noticed how faithfully your Government and, in particular, Mr. Khrushchev, whom we had the honour of welcoming to India twice, reflect and implement the peace-loving sentiments of the Soviet people. Mr. Khrushchev has been as untiring in his quest for peace as my own Prime Minister, Jawaharlal Nehru. Let us hope and pray that their efforts and the efforts of all men of peace may, sooner or later—sooner rather than later—be crowned with success.

I now propose a toast to the health of our gracious hostess, the Chairman of the Supreme Soviet of the Republic of Uzbekistan to the further progress and prosperity of the people of the Soviet Union and to the ever-lasting friendship between our two countries.

BIDDING FAREWELL BEFORE LEAVING THE SOVIET SOIL*

Your Excellencies and Dear Friends,

Within a few minutes from now I shall be leaving the Soviet soil. I am happy that I was able to come to your country. My only regret is that I could not stay with you longer. Nevertheless, I go back to India richer in experience and with a clearer appreciation of the great tasks on which the Soviet people are engaged and of your achievements. During the past fortnight I was touched by your repeated expressions of friendship for my country and by the warm welcome which you have accorded to me and the members of my party. Wherever we have been, whether it is in the capital of your country, Moscow, Leningrad, Kiev, Sochi, Stalinabad, Samarkand or Tashkent, your people have received me as one of their own. I shall carry back to my country the story of this great welcome and demonstration of friendship for India. I feel sure that they will be happy to hear of it.

I have been to several parts of the Soviet Union. I wish to refer in particular to my visit to Tajikistan and Uzbekistan. I have seen with wonder and admiration your efforts to fuse into one community peoples with different social, historical and ethnic backgrounds. At the same time, you are sparing no efforts to preserve what is good and distinctive in the art and culture of the different nationalities. I have also listened with much attention and interest to the accounts given to me of the education in the Asian Republics in more than one language. I am sure we can profit by your practical solution of a problem similar to one which faces us in India.

During my short stay in your country, I have had an opportunity of studying the details of your current Seven Year Plan and of knowing of the success which you have achieved so far. We in India started planned development of our country barely 10 years ago and our thoughts are now primarily engaged on working out our third Five Year Plan. During the last 10 years we have had substantial assistance from friendly countries in the financing of our development plans. We have welcomed such assistance because we know that they are without any political or other strings. I take this occasion to express our gratitude to the Soviet Government for the very substantial assistance amounting to nearly

*Farewell Speech at the time of Departure from Tashkent on 5th July, 1960.

2·7 billion roubles which we have received from them. I hope we can count on your continued co-operation and assistance during the third Plan period.

As I have said more than once during the last fortnight at different places in your country, we in India greatly value the co-operation between your country and ours. The Government and the people of India believe that co-operation is possible between countries with different social and ideological backgrounds. Our experience in our relations with your country is eloquent proof of this. Your leader, Nikita Sergevich Khrushchev, declared at the 20th Party Congress that in the present circumstances war was not inevitable and that peaceful co-existence was an absolute necessity. He has affirmed this repeatedly since then, the latest being the occasion of the Congress of Rumanian Workers' Party at Bucharest a few days ago. We wholeheartedly echo these sentiments. No sane person in the world should want anything but peace. I have no doubt that with patience and perseverance it should be possible to remove the barriers of suspicion and misunderstanding which divide some countries of the world from others today. The Indian people will always be on the side of those who are working for peace. We shall, therefore, support the efforts of your great leader Mr. Khrushchev, in reducing tensions and promoting peace.

Your Excellencies and dear friends—I thank you again. Long live friendship between the Soviet people and the people of India.

Dosvidanya.

IMPRESSIONS OF VISIT TO USSR*

About fifteen days ago when I stepped on Russian soil, I had great enthusiasm to meet new people and make their acquaintance and also an eagerness to see new things. The moment I landed in Moscow, the cool breeze of the Soviet capital welcomed me and gave me a new message of friendship. All that I saw there made a great impression on me. Big and magnificent buildings, wide roads and the enthusiasm of the Soviet people—all these were inspiring to me.

When I reached Leningrad, I found the thoughts of Lenin pervading the very atmosphere of the place. The whole city was filled with the echo of the revolution which Lenin had brought about. When I saw the place where in 1917 Lenin had raised the banner of revolution and given a new message to his country, I was reminded of our own country's revolution and the days of 1917. The Father of the Nation, Mahatma Gandhi, had begun the freedom movement in 1917 itself. I was reminded of the fact that Gandhiji's basic principles were wedded to truth and non-violence. In Russia also today the people in their own way are seeking and striving for disarmament and world peace.

From Leningrad when I arrived in Kiev, the history of a full epoch flashed before my eyes. I was greatly inspired to see the people engaged in their country's reconstruction programme and children blooming like flowers. When I saw thousands of men and women swimming in the Dnieper river, I was at once reminded of the scenes in our own country when people gather for a holy bath at the time of fairs and festivals. Leningrad and Kiev of today leave hardly any scope for imagining that these places had once been battlefields and to a great extent destroyed. I also saw a kolhoz (collective farm). This is situated at a place where battles had been fought. But today, there are green fields.

After visiting Leningrad and Kiev and seeing their reconstruction, I went to Sochi, the new mountain city and a famous health resort. I was greatly impressed by the arrangements which had been made there for providing rest to the general people. Here the sulphur springs have been very well utilised. I also saw how the people are given treatment by taking bath in these springs.

*Impressions of his Visit to the Soviet Union as Recorded by A.I.R. Correspondent at Tashkent on July 5, 1960.

After completing my visit to these four cities, I also saw Stalinabad, Samarkand and Tashkent. The natural warmth of these cities was matched by the love and affection of the people.

It is unnecessary to emphasise that whatever I saw there was grand. Stalinabad is a new city which has developed from a small village into a big town. Big factories and buildings are being constructed here.

Samarkand is a big historical city. Here I saw ancient buildings and observatories connected with the life and days of Timurlaine and his grandson Ulukbaig who was a great astrologer.

In Tashkent the capital of Uzbekistan, the old can be seen changing into new. What is most significant is that adequate arrangements are being made to repair and protect ancient monuments.

It was surprising to find that in these Central Asian Republics of the Soviet Union, the Arabic script was used in olden times or there was no script at all. Now in all these places the Russian script has been introduced and through their different languages people are learning technical, scientific and other subjects. Where text books were not available in the regional language, they have been translated from Russian or other foreign languages. All this has been done in the last few years.

Two things were to be seen prominently in all places in the Soviet Union. The first was that machinery was used for all types of work, whether in industry or agriculture. The second was that adequate arrangements had been made to protect and preserve all that was historically important, both in monuments and men.

The people of Soviet Union, whether men or women, are all industrious and to the extent I could see they are healthy and prosperous. Specially I saw women working in all fields. Many other jobs, such as driving of trains, motors and buses, which are done only by men in our country, are carried out by women in the Soviet Union. Children's education is, of course, looked after by women. We could learn a good many things from that country while having our own system and an independent personality. During the course of my visit wherever I went in the Soviet Union, I found people devoted to their work and engaged in reconstruction with great zeal and mutual affection. They had a very keen desire for world peace. I also found them very friendly towards India. I received their best wishes at all the places and I am carrying these for my own countrymen.

FAREWELL MESSAGE TO
PRESIDENT BREZHNEV*

“Departing from this friendly country I wish to convey to you and to your colleagues my sincere thanks for the hearty welcome and warm hospitality which the Soviet people have extended to me and the other members of my party during our visit to your great country. I am fortunate in having had this opportunity of seeing your country and learning at first hand the tremendous progress you have made in every field. I feel sure that this visit of mine will strengthen still more the friendly ties between our two countries. I wish happiness and prosperity to the Soviet people.

RAJENDRA PRASAD”

*Message to His Excellency Mr. Brezhnev, Chairman of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R. sent from the Plane on 5th July, 1960.

FAREWELL MESSAGE TO
THE SOVIET PRIME MINISTER*

To

**His Excellency Mr. Khrushchev,
Chairman, Council of Ministers of the
Soviet Union, Moscow.**

I have just left Tashkent on my way home after having spent a memorable fortnight in your country. I wish to thank you most warmly for the hearty welcome which you and your people gave me wherever I went in the Soviet Union. I have now a clearer appreciation of your aims and ideals and of your achievements, and I wish you success in your efforts and your people happiness and prosperity.

RAJENDRA PRASAD

*Message from the President to His Excellency Mr. Khrushchev sent from the Plane on July 5, 1960.

JUDICIARY—PROTECTOR OF OUR CONSTITUTION*

As pointed out by the Chief Justice, our Constitution has recognised different bodies, which are entrusted with different kinds of work under the Constitution and the judicial function is one of the most important functions which the Constitution has entrusted to the Judiciary for the purpose of upholding the law under the Constitution. You have, I believe, a number of cases in which you have to decide between a State on the one side and a private citizen on the other. You have also quite a number of cases in which you have to interpret the wording used in the Constitution. Legislatures are concerned with the wording and you are concerned with the meaning of the words and naturally people look up to you to give the correct interpretation not only to the Constitution but to all the other laws, which are passed by the legislatures. We have now-a-days a large body of legislation, so large that it becomes difficult even for lawyers to keep pace with the growth of legislation, not to speak of laymen. You have to maintain a balance between parties and also between one State and another State.

I have no doubt that in this country our judiciary has maintained the highest traditions and today when our democracy is in its formative stages, it is absolutely necessary that the functions entrusted to the different organs should be discharged well and impartially. It is in the hands of the judiciary not only to enforce the rights of individuals but also to protect the Constitution itself. Cases like these arise not only occasionally but, I believe, very often. You have got also a number of Writ petitions in which the interpretation of the Constitution itself is sometimes involved. Then, in this country we have got one peculiar problem which lawyers and Judges in England do not have. In England there is no need for the courts to adjudicate upon the validity of the laws for there the Parliament is sovereign. But here the Judiciary is entrusted with the power to declare on the validity of the laws. Sometimes courts have to decide against the administration and sometimes the administration in order to get over the decision of courts undertakes legislation.

We have two kinds of legislatures each independent of the other. You have got Parliament on the one side and the State Legislature on the other. Each has its own field of activity and yet there are certain things in which there may be overlapping.

*Speech at the Chief Justice's luncheon in Dr. Rajendra Prasad's honour at Hyderabad on July 27, 1960.

You have often to decide whether there has been any kind of overlapping by one on the other and whether the law which has been passed by a legislature really comes within its competence to pass it. It is on such occasions that you have to decide upon the validity of the laws passed. The powers of the Parliament are unlimited and if there is overlapping or if there is any excess in the matter of the exercise of jurisdiction, you have to put it right. I am mentioning all this only to show how in the formative stages of our democracy, your function is of the utmost importance to the country and I hope that our Judges all over the country have realised that, and they have been discharging their functions to the satisfaction of all. I have no doubt that as we gain more and more experience, many of the disputes which now call for decision by you will not arise, for in course of time all the disputed points would have been settled by decisions. In fact, you have only to bear in mind the American Constitution and to what extent the Judiciary has moulded the Constitution of that country. Had it not been for the Judges there, it would not have been possible for them to develop their Constitution.

The legislature may be swayed by momentary enthusiasm and Judges with their conservative outlook should play the role of a steadying force. I am quite sure that in this country you can depend upon our Judges to go ahead with social changes if necessary and at the same time to keep things within proper limits.

I am really grateful to you for giving me this opportunity of addressing you.

CONVOCATION OF HYDERABAD HINDI PRACHAR SABHA*

I am grateful to you for having asked me to address the Convocation of the Hyderabad Hindi Prachar Sabha and thus giving me an occasion to say a few words to the students and well-wishers of Hindi. This is not the first time for me to participate in a function organised by the Hyderabad Hindi Prachar Sabha. I know the efforts that this Sabha has been making for the last 25 years for the propagation of Hindi and also the success it has so far achieved.

Hyderabad was looked upon as a fertile field for Hindi literacy campaigns long before Hindi was adopted as India's official language and efforts in that direction have since been going on. In fact, Hyderabad alongwith the neighbouring areas, which have generally been referred to as the Deccan in history, has been something of a laboratory for purposes of experiments on linguistics. When the Muslim Kings carved out their Kingdoms and settled here about five hundred years ago, Persian and the languages of North India came to the Deccan with them. This intermingling of the languages of the North and the South considerably helped the process of the evolution of the common language which both the Hindus and the Muslims understood and used. While speaking at the Aiwan-e-Urdu in this town a few days ago I said that I looked upon Hindi and Urdu as one language basically. Whatever the name we may give to this language, the writers and patrons of Dakhini contributed a great deal towards its evolution. It is a matter of gratification that the researches which are at present being done in this language and the programme of the publication of manuscripts have been taken up as a joint undertaking by scholars and supporters of Hindi, Urdu and Telugu in a spirit of co-operation and goodwill. Besides throwing valuable light on the history of Hindi these researches may also provide a broader base to current Hindi or Hindustani. It would, therefore, be no exaggeration to say that the entire Hindi world is indebted to the people of Hyderabad and the Deccan. I believe that your present efforts are a link in and a part of that old tradition. If there is any difference, it is merely that while this work was undertaken in the past by Kings and their courts today in free India it is the responsibility of the people or their representatives.

*English translation of President's Convocation Address originally delivered in Hindi at Hyderabad on August 3, 1960.

While speaking on Hindi and the desirability of propagating it in the country, I would like to say something by way of allaying the misgivings of some of our non-Hindi-speaking brethren. I fully realise and appreciate the place that one's mother-tongue occupies in one's life. When one talks of the need of propagating a language in a region, the foremost thing to be asked is: is this step likely to have an adverse effect on the mother-tongue of that region, and has all that is possible been done to safeguard the place of the mother-tongue in the life of the people of that region? I do not think anyone in the non-Hindi-speaking regions can have any misgiving in this regard. All the regional languages and their interests have been fully safeguarded in our Constitution and full powers have been given to State Governments to do all that is possible to develop and encourage these languages with a view to using them to the maximum extent in the administrative and day-to-day work in the States.

The other question which arises is that of studying that language which representatives of the nation have decided in national interest to be used for certain specified all-India purposes. I know that there are important regions in our country where Hindi is not the mother-tongue of the people. It is, therefore, possible that those people may have some difficulty in learning this language. This difficulty has been kept in view throughout, while formulating the programme for switching over to Hindi for the said specified purposes, as laid down in the Constitution. I am absolutely sure, that whenever the language policy is reviewed or discussed in future also, the difficulties and feelings of our non-Hindi-speaking brethren, will never be ignored. At least, I can say this much, as our Prime Minister has said so often in the Lok Sabha and in his public utterances, that Hindi will never be imposed on anyone. This position has been repeatedly clarified in the context of the recommendations of the Official Language Commission and the opinion expressed by the Parliamentary Committee and the decisions taken by the Government on the basis of these recommendations. This stand has been once again reiterated in the Lok Sabha by our Home Minister, only two days ago.

I would like to urge my fellow country-men from the non-Hindi-speaking regions to please ponder as to what their duty is as members of a free and self-respecting nation. A step taken in the interest of national unity and its future integrity does not become improper, merely because it might be easier to implement it for certain sections of our people. We have to consider this

question from an all-India angle. Of course, if there is any apprehension that such a step might prove discriminatory against, or lead to difficulty for a section of our people, such apprehension can and should be removed. I am convinced that our goodwill, our devotion and our faith in the future of this country can overcome the language and all other such difficulties.

Perhaps, it will not be out of place if I talked about the Hindi language on this occasion. How Hindi—a direct descendant of the dialect spoken by wandering Sadhus and Bhikshus—evolved to its present form, is for the philologists to say. But, I would like to say that the more I have tried to survey the history and evolution of Hindi language, the more I have been convinced that during the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries when Hindi was evolving from the dialect to the language stage, the contribution of South-Indian Saints and Bhikshus to its development was foremost. Who does not know that Rama and Krishna Bhakti Movements led by Saints played a great part in the development of Hindi and that these Bhakti Movements spread from the South to the North ? It was Sri Ramanuja and later on, Swami Ramananda, a disciple in his line, who brought the Ram Bhakti Movement to Kashi. It was due to their inspiration that Bhakti Movement came to be propagated in the regional languages, besides Sanskrit. And, in this way, Awadhi, which was once a spoken language only came on the scene as a literary language. On the other hand Braja Bhasha owes much for its development to Vallabhacharya and his followers who inundated Mathura with the Krishna Bhakti Movement. The Krishna Bhakti Movement has influenced deeply Bengali language also. Thus we see, that the Saints of South-India have played a great role in the evolution of Hindi language even though their main aim might have been to propagate the Bhakti Movement.

I am very happy to learn that under the auspices of the Hyderabad Hindi Prachar Sabha, thousands of students qualify in Hindi every year. I congratulate those who are getting diplomas at this Convocation. May their knowledge of Hindi prove a blessing to the country, to the society and to themselves !

UNITY, OUR HERITAGE AND IDEAL*

I am happy to be here once again, and this time, to meet such a large gathering as I see before me. I have visited these parts several times, both before independence and also since independence: and every time that I have come to these parts, I have had the opportunity of meeting thousands and thousands of men and women, young and old.

We have, after a long struggle, achieved independence of this country from foreign rule. This is the first time in our long history that we have got one government whose writ runs over this entire country, from Kanyakumari to the Himalayas. While during all these centuries we had certain social and cultural forces which bound the whole country together, there were any number of political divisions within this country, and while there is much that can be said against British rule, there is one thing which we owe to it and which we have inherited from it. That is one politically and administratively united India. To all the other social and cultural forces binding us together, we have today the additional force of one political set-up and one administrative set-up. We must, therefore, consider ourselves fortunate that we are the inheritors of a vast country culturally and socially united since time immemorial, but now politically and administratively also unified. This heritage has brought its own heavy responsibility to us also. While there may be points on which all may not agree, while there may be points about which there may be disagreement, there is no doubt that the country is one and it belongs to everyone of us. We have already lost two wings on our two sides which now constitute Pakistan. But the rest of the country that we have inherited is bigger than what it was at any time under one political rule. We owe it to us, we owe it to our ancestors, and even more we owe it to those who will follow us to leave this country more united and more prosperous. In the presence of this great heritage, every other consideration which will present itself to us as dividing parts and parts from one another shrinks into insignificance. We have drawn up a Constitution, not by any one group or one set of people, but by representatives of the whole country coming from every corner of it. That Constitution assures to every State within the country certain rights which cannot be taken away even by the Centre, and that Constitution assures to every State within the country the right to run its own

*Address at the citizens' meeting in Coimbatore held on August 10, 1960.

administration in the best interests of the people within it. But while that autonomy is there on the one hand there is also the obligation on the other hand of every State to be prepared and ready to maintain and support the entire Republic. Sometimes unfortunate happenings in one corner or another are apt to blur our vision and to mislead us. Whatever such differences or such happenings may imply, let us be sure of one thing, that we are one as a country, we are one as a nation. It is necessary to remind ourselves of this fundamental fact because now and then we see tendencies which go the wrong way. Our Constitution gives the right to the people as a whole to run the country in the way they think best. It does not permit the Central Government to impose its will in matters not in its own jurisdiction on a State, and it equally imposes the obligation on the Centre to do whatever is required of it under the Constitution for the good and benefit of the States. So far as administrative measures are concerned which may not meet with your approval, you have the right to have them changed. That right is available to you both as against the State Government and the Central Government. You have your State Government and you have the Central Government, and both are composed of men whom you have elected. By electing them, you have given them your confidence and they are carrying out what they consider best in the interests of the country by virtue of the confidence which you have reposed in them. It is, therefore, necessary that you should realise the strength that you possess and the power that you have in your own hands. That is the power which has to be exercised but exercised with caution and with a full knowledge of the responsibility which the power by itself imposes on you also.

I have gone into this aspect of the matter at such length because I feel that in some parts and in some places a tendency is visible which does not appear to me to be right. The Constitution does not permit either the Centre or any of the States to establish any kind of imperialism in this country. Even if anyone is inclined to have a kind of imperialism, he dare not indulge in it and more than that, you should also realise that those who have fought imperialism are not likely to resort to it themselves.

I would, therefore, ask you, friends, to keep one thing in mind whenever you come to think of this country and that is this, that this country is one and indivisible, and it has been made indivisible not today but by nature on one side and by human effort on the other for innumerable centuries.

Since I arrived here this morning, I have visited two institutions run by the Ramakrishna Mission. It is saints like Sri Ramakrishna who have bound this country together from one end to the other. It is a very pleasant sight to see the Ramakrishna Mission working here, just as pleasant to see the Mathas established by Sankaracharya functioning in the north today. It is not only Sankaracharya you have given us, the people of the North but also Ramanujacharya, Ramanand and Vallabhacharya; and it is the teachings and the lives of saints like those which have kept us together all these centuries when we passed through revolutions of a political nature from time to time. Now that we have got added to that heritage this political unity also, it should be our foremost duty and our foremost effort to maintain this unity for ever. Thank you.

WOMEN'S PLACE IN PRESENT-DAY EDUCATION*

It is a matter of great pleasure for me to be associated with this function this afternoon. When we are trying to improve the condition of the country in every respect possible, we are naturally putting great emphasis on our economic improvement and side by side, we are not neglecting health or the education of the people also. So an attempt is being made in our plans to give an all-round improvement to our people at large. The object of all this is to make the life of the common man and woman appear more pleasant and, if possible, more profitable in more senses than one.

No attempt at improving either material conditions or moral uplift can be wholly successful unless what is done is utilised in the best possible way and to the best advantage. For that purpose, good home is essential. Whatever a family may earn, can be wasted or at any rate not utilised to the best advantage if the home is not well managed. Whatever attainments men and ladies may have in matters educational and other, the children cannot avail themselves of them unless the home is well managed. Whatever attainment the villager may hope to achieve either by way of material prosperity or by improving the living in other ways, it will all remain a dream unless every home in the village is so educated and got up as to make the best use of the opportunities which are offered. It is therefore in the fitness of things that home science should at last get recognition in our curricula of university and adult education.

Today not only we, but other countries also are passing through various kinds of pulls in different directions in matters educational as well as political. And while on the one side there is emphasis that there should be no difference between man and woman in any matter, on the other side, it is also recognized that man has his own sphere of work and he cannot by any means leave it completely to the woman, at any rate in some respects, and similarly woman requires man to fulfil herself. Therefore while recognizing the distinct specialities and the particular functions of both, we have to see where the difference lies between them and how the differences can be so fused as to make them helpful instead of being a hindrance.

Now, there is this conflict of ideas going on in the world. I have just returned from a tour of Russia and I may tell you

*Speech made at the Avinashilingam Home Science College, Coimbatore, on the occasion of inauguration of the M.Sc. Course on August 10, 1960.

that I have heard there that women were doing many kinds of work which so far only men had been doing. For example I heard that they are driving railway engines and locomotives and that they are doing the work of drivers of buses and motor cars. Even in this country we see ladies driving motor cars: but they are taking those professions in Russia more or less as regular professions and they are going in for them in large numbers. In this country also I find that there is a regular competition going on between men and women for all jobs but mostly for clerical jobs and jobs of stenographers and perhaps also of telephone operators. There are other fields in which it is not unlikely that competition may grow, and there is a demand from ladies who have had the advantage of modern education that no distinction should be made so far as educational facilities are concerned between men and women.

It is, therefore, a very bold experiment which you are engaged in, in setting apart an institution for the education of women, and not only setting apart an institution for women, but also setting a particular curriculum which is suited largely for women only. India is a large country and we have got vast fields for experiment. An experiment in this direction is certainly very valuable and we look forward with great expectancy to its result. I am, therefore, happy that you have undertaken this experiment because in the first place India is a country which is very largely in the homes, a country where those who do not understand our social life might say really the woman rules and not man. It is for man to go and work and bring the earnings to the home and it has been like that since ages long gone by. It is the function and duty of woman to so husband the resources which are acquired by man as to make him happy and more than that, to so bring up the children that they may fulfil the expectations of their parents and prove themselves to be good and worthy citizens of the country.

Here in this country the woman has always occupied a high place and that is not easily seen from outside because her work is confined within the narrow limits of the home although it is not less sedentary or less important than the work of man. I am happy that in this country our women will continue to rule the home. Our culture has been so far preserved intact by our women. Men have come under all kinds of influences and sometimes, I must confess, have gone far wrong. They have sometimes betrayed their own culture and their own past and all that is sacred in that culture. But it must be said to the credit

of women that they have preserved that culture and have kept it intact within the home and they have contributed not a little to impose some kind of balance on their men also. And so it is that in spite of all kinds of revolutions, political and other, we have continued to be a nation with a distinct personality, and in spite of all that has happened during the past several centuries, in spite of foreign domination, in spite of conquest after conquest by foreigners, India has remained what she is today because her women remained Indian women; and let me hope that under the auspices of the great saint Sri Ramakrishna, this institution will maintain and revive and recapture the spirit of that culture and heritage.

I am happy, therefore, to inaugurate the highest degree which you are going to give to the children in this very important science. Let me hope that the students who will go out with their degrees will prove to be good custodians of their past and progressive in modern ideas so as to be able to keep pace with all that is going on in the world, and while maintaining the best and most valuable in our home, they will not ignore or neglect the past.

I congratulate you on the way you have started your work. If there is one thing which I some times fear is responsible for much of what passes for indiscipline, it is neglecting the religious aspect of our life and the cultural and spiritual background which has so long sustained us. Here under the auspices of Swami Ramakrishna and with the inspiration which you are getting also from Mahatma Gandhi, I hope this institution will serve the high purpose which you have in view.

NEED OF SYNTHESIS BETWEEN VILLAGE AND TOWN LIFE*

I am really happy that it has been at last possible for me to visit this institution in the way in which I had wished to on two former occasions, but failed to do so. I am really grateful to my friend, Shri Avinashilingam Chettiyar for the opportunity he has given me of meeting the young men who are coming out of this institution today as full-fledged graduates.

The Vidyalaya has very sacred associations. It bears the name of Sri Ramakrishna and its founders and those who are engaged in running it, have been inspired by the teachings of that great saint and of Swami Vivekananda. They have also been students of and have been influenced very largely by Mahatma Gandhi in their life and in their work. So it is a combination of both our ancient and modern culture which we see prospering here within this institution.

As Mr. Avinashilingam has told us, the question of education has been exercising the minds of our leaders for a pretty long time. We have had a system which has come down to us from the time of the British. It was intended to serve a particular purpose, and today when that purpose has become very much enlarged and various other considerations have come in, it naturally requires adjustment, and if necessary, even complete overhauling. Institutions like the one where I find myself today are intended to do first experiment work for any big and fundamental change which has to be introduced in our system of education.

It is, therefore, a great responsibility which this institution has taken upon itself in organising three courses for three types of young people who will go out to serve in the country. We have always felt—at any rate during my life-time, and now still more—that there is something wanting in the system of education, which does not render us fit for service of the people whom we are expected or intended to serve. The students who pass through our universities, go out with a certain amount of intellectual equipment. They go out also, I believe, equipped with a certain amount of moral culture in them: but there is something wanting which cannot connect and link this equipment with the actual requirements of our society, and that is the outlook on life which we develop in our existing institutions which

*Convocation address at the Ramakrishna Vidyalaya, Perianaickenpalayam, Coimbatore on August 10, 1960.

makes us feel as if we were somewhat different from the people as a whole in the midst of whom we have to live. The sooner we are able to remove this difference and to fill this gap, the better we shall be and the sooner we shall be able to serve the country better.

I am, therefore, happy that you have undertaken this big experiment. What the country needs today is the mixing up of the so-called educated with the so-called uneducated—I say so-called educated because I do not look upon all the educated people as really educated: Nor do I regard all those who are called uneducated as really uneducated because there are certain respects in which they are superior even to the so-called educated. But apart from that, what we need is really a kind of synthesis between the life that we have to live in the villages and the life we have to live in the cities after receiving education in the universities. I may mention just one instance which glaringly points out all the difference it makes. Take, for example, the need of medical relief in our rural areas. I know in many places Government have been anxious to send out medical graduates to rural areas to take up the work there: but they find it difficult to get medical graduates, to take up the work. They prefer to work in cities. Similarly, now that you have started work in the villages, the kind of work which a village worker has to perform is of a somewhat different type and therefore the student who has simply passed through the current university course finds it difficult to adjust himself to the rural conditions. It is, therefore, necessary that this gap should be filled up between our rural life and the life of the so-called educated people, and that can be done only through institutions of this type. I am, therefore, happy that you have started this work and it is really a matter of good fortune that we have got such a devoted band of workers as members of the Ramakrishna Mission and a worker like Shri A. Chettiyar to guide and run this institution.

I congratulate the students not only on their having obtained their degrees and diplomas but on the fact that they have the good fortune of having lived in an institution like this and received their education here. They are going out with a certain responsibility which they will have always to bear in mind. I am glad that under the vow which the students have just taken, they have to live according to the precepts which they have learnt here. What they have learnt here should find expression in their thoughts, words and deeds and that can be done only when we

are able to bring about a complete synthesis between our words, deeds and thoughts and when we are able to follow what we have learnt at the feet of the teachers, whether through books or through their mouth; and I can only hope that these young people who have received their training in different directions, some in village work, some in engineering and some in agriculture, will be able to fulfil the object, which is to serve the people amongst whom they have to live, and that in whatever sphere of activity they may be engaged, they will be able to earn the goodwill of all those whom they have to serve and feel that they have done a good job of their work. When they have felt satisfied that they have done their work well and when they are able to earn the goodwill of those amongst whom they have been working, I have no doubt that the authorities of this institution which is going to send them out into the world, will also feel quite happy. Thank you.

CRITICISM OF ADMINISTRATION COMPATIBLE WITH DEMOCRACY*

Mr. Governor, Mr. Chief Minister and Friends,

I am visiting this city of yours after 25 years for the second time. This period of 25 years has been a most remarkable period in the Indian history. When I visited this town in 1935, we were in the midst of our struggle for freedom. We were trying our best to prepare the country for the final non-violent struggle against the British rule.

While we were all full of hope that one day our efforts would succeed, none of us could be sure when that happy consummation would be reached. The world also was passing through a period of apparent peace. Although signs were visible that some trouble might come in some part of the world or other, no one could be then sure that war would follow soon. But only two or three years later we saw the beginning of that mighty struggle which is known as the Second World War.

The world war has brought about tremendous changes with reference to the world. As an aftermath of the war, many changes have taken place which were perhaps inconceivable at that time. Soon after the cessation of the war came negotiations between India and Great Britain and ultimately we succeeded in winning our freedom in 1947. Representatives from every part of the country then assembled to draw up a Constitution for the whole country and by the time the Constitution had been completed, we were able also to integrate with India those portions of the country which were under the administrative control of Indian Princes. In 1950 when we declared ourselves a Republic, the whole country had been integrated as one country except that part which became known as Pakistan. The British had brought under their sway a large portion of the country which was directly administered by them. Yet one-third part of the country was not under the direct administrative control of the British. By wisdom, statesmanship and firm action of Sardar Patel even those portions which were under the administrative control of the Indian Princes became integrated with India. In 1950 when we declared, ourselves a Republic the whole country had become integrated under one Constitution and under one administrative control. Although the first years were years of travail and trouble on account of the partition of the country,

*Speech made at the citizens, meeting at Salem on August 11, 1960.

we have since then been making the great constructive effort which is going on in the country.

Our attainment of freedom was followed by a similar attainment of freedom by many other Asiatic and African countries and that great process is still on and almost from month to month we hear of new countries coming up as independent States. It naturally gives us pleasure to watch these new countries coming up and we wish them all the good things of the world. In our own country our main effort has been more or less confined to the tremendous task of raising the economic level and the standard of living of the people. Sometimes in the midst of local conflicts and parochial interest we are apt to minimise this achievement which is to our credit and to that of the Republic of India. Only this morning I visited the Mettur Dam which is one of the earliest to be constructed in this country. While before the attainment of independence by us there were very limited number of big projects of this type in the whole country, since then the whole country is dotted over with big projects and big dams and within the 12 or 13 years that have elapsed since independence, we have to the credit of the Republic a large number of big projects and larger number of efforts for the amelioration and equipment of the country than throughout the British period. I do not mean that there are no faults in administration or that we are free from every kind of blemish. There are perhaps many things which we would not like and which we should not have in this country. But, by and large, we have achieved great success in many respects and all this has been possible because there has been co-operation on the part of all concerned and because there has been foresighted planning at the Centre.

Planning has now become a part of our administration. It is not only the Central Government which is planning big projects but every State Government is also planning for amelioration of the people under its care. All these plans can succeed only if they get unstinted support and co-operation of the people at large. The difficulties that may be there have to be removed and it is in the hands of the people themselves to remove most of these difficulties.

The fundamental fact of the Constitution is that we have a Government which is the elected Government of the people and it is within the competence and power of the people to dictate their wishes to the Government which is none other than their own representative Government. I, therefore, do not need to

plead that there shall be no criticism. We may have criticism of the Government policy and Government programme. Without criticism the Government may go wrong. But the criticism of the measures and policies of the Government is something different from their activities. Let us make sure by every means that the unity and security of the country are the first demands on all of us and if we once assure that, the rest can be left to the good sense and power of the people to remove it. That is the only way in which democracy can work. We are in a sense fresh to this democracy and therefore we are apt sometimes to magnify things which do not need or deserve magnification. We ought always to bear in mind that fact that whatever criticism we make must be subject to the paramount necessity of keeping the country secure and keeping it free. It is necessary to emphasise this fact because we see around us in neighbouring countries and distant countries something very different going on.

We have succeeded in maintaining our democracy through elections, and we may have our elections again two years hence. That gives the people opportunities to express themselves about the doings and activities of the party that is in power. Therefore no one need be over-exercised because there is criticism. Nor need we forget the paramount necessity of keeping the welfare of the country before us. You may be reading in newspapers and perhaps also hearing from speakers about incidents here and there that disturb us. While on one side we should not be exercised over this sort of happenings, on the other side we should take warning from new happenings and we should be always on the guard for the protection of our safety and freedom.

It is a matter of congratulations that while revolutions have been happening in many countries, we have since attainment of independence maintained our administration functioning in good order. Our present position in the world situation and what is happening all around us in different and distant countries no less than our own past history demand that we should be very cautious and vigilant about our freedom and security. Throughout our long history, India has been subjected to invasion and aggression from other countries many times. But so far as I am able to see, there has never been a single instant in which India has been defeated by a foreign aggressor or foreign invader. That might appear to be an unwarranted assertion but I am sure it is not so as I would show you. Every foreigner who has come to this country has been able to secure the support of

some of our own people and it was our own people who with the aid of foreigners have defeated another section of our people and thus enabled the foreigner to establish his rule here so many times. That narrow selfish motive which has subjected the country to foreign domination more than once should be guarded against. Let us develop in our minds and hearts love for the country as a whole. The national life should be like the individual life, sensitive to the whole country. Any harm done to any corner of the country should be regarded as harm done to the country as a whole and we should be ever ready and prepared to meet any contingency which may arise on account of any happening in any part of the country.

Now that it is for the first time after a long long time that we have got one administration and one rule throughout the country, let us realise its importance and let us be ready or sacrifice if necessary. The interest of the individual as well as the groups and regions should be sacrificed, if necessary, for the interest of the country as a whole. If we realise the importance of that duty of ours, we shall certainly have justified our right to rule ourselves. We can now devote ourselves to constructive work for improving our condition. Any experiment which could have come from outside is no longer possible. As we have got the opportunity, we have also got the responsibility to make the best use of our freedom. I can only hope and pray that people of this vast country may prove themselves worthy of the freedom that they have achieved. I would like to end with an appeal to each one of you, to each man and woman of the country as a whole to be prepared for the service of the motherland. If we once make up our minds, the country will go from strength to strength and it will be impossible for anyone to cast an evil eye on us. Each one of us has his part to play in this matter. May we have strength to fulfil the high hopes which the country has found of our people at large ! This enthusiasm which you have shown in welcoming a man whom you have elected as the President be preserved for the service of this great country ! We shall ever be ready to serve you as best as we can

LAW AND LAWYERS IN A DEMOCRACY*

I am thankful to you for the opportunity you have given me of meeting you and of learning something of the history of the particular spot where I am sitting today.

You are right in thinking that in any democracy the legal profession has a part of its own to play, and that part is an important part for the successful functioning of democracy. In India we are still fresh and we have not yet passed the stage of experimentation although democracy is not a new concept to us. Since time immemorial, we have had our village panchayats and much of the work which is now undertaken by administration used to be done by village communities in days long gone by, and, if I may say so, although we have had many political revolutions, many conquerors have come and gone, our villages have maintained their identity and their utility through these long periods of adversity. Today when we have achieved independence and are in full possession of those powers which enable us to shape the destiny of our country for good or for evil, the villages have still a great part to play, and whether it be a man of the village or a man of the town, so long as he has to do anything with the functioning of our democracy, law has always to be borne in mind not only in connection with his activities with the State but also his individual activities. I have therefore always felt that since independence we require a strong Bar and a strong Judiciary. I may also say that I believe that a strong democracy will be possible only if we can maintain a strong Bar, and as time has gone on, we have seen how our people in this country, even when we were under the British, were able to distinguish themselves in the legal profession and also on the Bench. Therefore there is all the more reason why the members of the Bar and the Judiciary should play their part nobly when we are free.

Fortunately for us, let us hope that the days of conflict which needed a fort like this to protect the countryside, are gone. But let us not be complacent. We know that there are various signs of dangers lurking here, there and everywhere in the corner which may upset our plans or at any rate render difficult the progress of those plans which we have taken in hand. I do not need to specify the various fissiparous tendencies which sometimes make these visible even on the surface. We have had an unfortunate history in the past that our own divisions have exposed

*Address to the Bar Association, Vellore, on August 12, 1960.

us to the attack and assault of foreigners and our own divisions have helped them to establish themselves in this country. We have to be careful that we may not have the misfortune to see that old history repeated.

For the first time in history, India as it is today, is under one rule and under one sway. It is for the first time in history that we have got one Constitution for the whole of the country from the Cape to the Himalayas, and that is not a small achievement. The British had to a great extent contributed in uniting different provinces of the country, but they too had left nearly a third of the country outside their immediate administrative control. Thanks to the far-sighted statesmanship of Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel, that one-third was brought into line with the rest of the country within two years of the attainment of independence, and by January 1950, when we were able to announce our adoption of the Republic, the entire country had become integrated as one country and the Constitution was made applicable not only to parts but to the whole country. It is that Constitution which is still governing us and let me hope that the provisions of that Constitution will prove to be of such strength and of such binding character that in this country we shall live for many centuries together happily as brothers and sisters.

We have had differences of various kinds. We have had differences of religion, which we have even today. We have had differences of language, which persist today. We have had differences in our mode of living, in our mode of dressing and even in our food. But with all these apparent differences and distinctions there has been a silken thread of unity running through our whole history from time immemorial and that is running even today. Today we have the added advantage of political unity also, of one administration for the whole country. We shall be really very unfortunate if in spite of the added advantage and in spite of the past teachings of history, we allow ourselves to be divided and thus open the door for intrigue and aggression. I say this because I feel that it needs to be repeated when even on small matters we are not only content to express our opinion but are too prone to give expression to that opinion in some sort of practical demonstration. It is not necessary, now that you have got a democratic Constitution, to take to any other method except that of constitutional agitation or constitutional expression, and the country gets opportunity every 4 or 5 years to express itself, and if it so chooses, it may express itself even within those

five years, and in this way you can maintain the contact that is necessary between the government on the one side and the people at large on the other side. That is at the root of this constitutional procedure and the constitutional machinery. If any programme is to be tested, it requires at least three or four years, and if we give that time to any Ministry that comes into power. It will have at any rate an opportunity to put its own programme into effect, which of course will have formerly received the sanction of the country at large; and if by any chance, that policy turns out to be wrong or its implementation turns out to be ineffective, it will be open to the people to entrust the government to somebody else and to some other party. Now that we have got a Constitution which is flexible, which permits all kinds of differences of opinion to be expressed, which permits all freedom to the individual in every respect, we need not be thinking of any thing excepting constitutional procedure and constitutional method, and it is in this respect that the function of the law and of the lawyer becomes very important.

I am quite sure that our judiciary has established itself, has established its reputation and it deserves not only our support but also our congratulations, and in that congratulation I suppose the members of the Bar have also a share of their own which is not a small share.

I am therefore thankful to you for giving me this opportunity of meeting you and at this particular place which is of such historical importance for us. Let it also serve as a guide and a reminder that things like what Vellore witnessed at one time, may not have to be witnessed again.

VELLORE CHRISTIAN MEDICAL COLLEGE AND HOSPITAL*

Friends,

It has given me great pleasure to be present here today and to have seen an institution—a Medical College and a Hospital—which has such an inspiring history and where one can breathe the spirit of dedication. I am happy all the more that my visit has synchronised with the Diamond Jubilee Celebrations of your Institution. How much I wish your founder, the late Dr. Ida S. Scudder were present here today and it were possible for me to see her. She passed away only about three months ago at the age of ninety, practically the whole of which she had dedicated for the building up of this Institution. I am not at all surprised to hear, in the various speeches and reports read out before me, touching references made to that great lady whose dedication and planned working are exemplary.

This College-Hospital, which has been working as a private Institution, has earned for itself an all-India reputation on account of some of its special features. Its Neurological Centre is one of the best in the country and attracts patients for treatment and medical fraternity for training and research in modern technique from far and wide. I am glad to recollect that only a few months ago we sent a patient here for heart operation from Rashtrapati Bhavan and I am told the operation was successful and the patient in question has already resumed work in her office. But even earlier I had heard quite a lot about this Institution so that I welcomed the opportunity of my present tour of Madras State to come here and see things for myself and also to have personal contact with you all working here. I would like to congratulate you all connected with this Institution in any capacity on the happy occasion of your Diamond Jubilee Celebrations. Howsoever small or limited, one's field of activity, achievement as a result of sustained and dedicated work is a reward which must be prized and recognised at all hands. The truth is that it is such achievements which constitute and add to the sum total of human progress and happiness.

All that I have seen here has impressed me deeply. As one moves round from block to block and department to department, one admires the spirit of service and unflinching devotion to duty on the part of Dr. Scudder and her friends and

*Address at the Vellore Christian Medical College & Hospital while laying the Corner Stone of a new block, August 12, 1960.

colleagues. I believe it is these qualities more than anything else which have lent a personality to this Institution and which have helped it to earn a reputatin as a centre of specialized treatment in many a line. All of you, who study or work here, can legitimately feel proud of this Institution's past and present. I am sure a still greater future awaits you. Let me hope the example of your founder will continue to inspire you and guide you to higher and higher achievements.

I have heard with interest your plans for future developments and expansion. I have no doubt in my mind that your appeal for such help as you may be needing will meet with appropriate response at the hands of not only the Government but also private individuals, friends and well-wishers. Once again, I would like to express my pleasure that I was able to have come here and met all of you. Let me also compliment you on the good work that you have been and are doing in the spirit of service and in keeping with high humanitarian ideals.

May I add one word of thanks also to those foreign individuals and institutions who have contributed to the funds and also to the personnel of this institution from time to time ? I need hardly say that we all count upon that kind of help for an institution like this and the help which was given in the beginning unsought for by us will contrinue to be given. We are also joining in making the appeal for it. I have much pleasure in laying the corner stone of this institution.

FREE MID-DAY MEAL FOR CHILDREN : A MOVEMENT WORTHY OF EMULATION*

I am really happy that it has been possible for me to attend this conference. When I was listening to the speeches which have been delivered, I was transported back to the memory of many years ago when I used to move about the country either with or without Mahatma Gandhi preaching things of the sort you have been doing here in a practical manner. In those days we were in a sense fighting with the Government and whatever we hoped to accomplish was with the help of the people and without the help of the Government, and sometimes in spite of opposition of the Government. That used to generate a kind of enthusiasm not only amongst those who were workers, but also amongst the masses at large. For all these we had to depend upon public subscription. Mahatma Gandhi used to receive large sums in thousands and lakhs from the rich people. He was also careful to collect to the pies and the copper from the poorest man every evening at the time of his prayer. I heard him say more than once that he attached greater value to the pies that he received in this way than to the lakhs that he received from the rich. And I remember an occasion in Coimbatore when the pies which had been collected in the car had to be counted on reaching the destination and we found at the end that the amount collected in terms of copper amounted to Rs. 1,200/- at the close of the day. Mahatma Gandhi liked the pies because he knew that there was affection of the people behind it. The rich man paid out of his richness and out of his generosity while the poor man paid out of his poverty but the paid what he needed most.

I am therefore not surprised that this movement which was started in a humble way has gained such an importance in such a short time. I attach great value to this movement because I think it is a revival of something which we are perhaps forgetting. I have heard very often from people who ought to know better that the Government should do this and that but they hardly do anything which they themselves ought to do; and occasionally I have taken opportunity to remind people that they should depend more on themselves than on the Government. Of course there are many things which the Government alone can do and which individual effort cannot succeed in undertaking. But the spirit of dedication, the spirit of service which voluntary work requires and which voluntary work exhibits are really of great value to the country.

*Speech at the School Improvement Conference, Vellore, on August 12, 1960.

I feel that I am really grateful to you all for having invited me to Vellore. I have seen that spirit of love lurking in different places in two different directions. I saw in the morning the work of love for giving relief to the suffering humanity which has been going on for sixty years in this country. What was started by a lady of enthusiasm and foresight, has now achieved world-wide fame. And this afternoon I see this conference which also had a small beginning in the minds of a teacher. The schools are there, they will be there, but there are certain things which others also have to do for the schools. It is this spirit of love which must have inspired all those who have joined together in a conference like this to make institutions better for the boys and girls who are studying there. The hungry man cannot do much, and the hungry child can do very little. Therefore even the work that is being done in the schools goes waste unless the child is well fed and is in a position to imbibe what is taught there. While the movement to do something to meet the needs of the children, has been going on in other parts also, you have actually achieved such tremendous success. The exhibition of the articles, their variety, the heart behind each one of them inspire us with hope that we shall be able in the not distant future to introduce this kind of education among the children. I am also happy to learn that the teachers as a body are taking much interest in this kind of work. I value this work the more because we expect the children who will be educated in these institutions to turn what they now learn into practice in future when they grow up. The practice of working in a body, of helping each other and of trying to do what is necessary or required for oneself is of great value. It is this which the children are imbibing and we can therefore count upon them to become good citizens when they grow up.

I am really thankful that it has been possible for me to attend this conference and to learn from your lips what you have achieved. I have no hesitation in holding it as an example to be followed in other States. I can only give you my best wishes for further success and I wish your efforts all luck.

I am thankful to the Municipality for the kind address which they have given to me. For want of time, it has not been read, but really it is not necessary to read it. I am as thankful for the address as for the kindly thought behind it. Thank you.

NEED TO PRESERVE UNDERLYING UNITY OF INDIA*

It is really a rare thing for me to have to address legislators except those who sit in Parliament. Under the Constitution, I am required to address them at least once every year and so I do that: But as you all know, my address is mine only in name and I do not get any other opportunity of addressing legislators even in Delhi. I am therefore thankful that you have given me this opportunity of having not exactly a speech but some sort of heart to heart talk on some matters which appear to me to be of paramount importance at the present moment in our life.

It is only thirteen years just now that we attained independence and three years later we declared ourselves a Republic. Within those two to three years we were able to frame a Constitution which covers the whole of the country. Before actual independence, when the British decided to give us independence, they left the country in a very much divided condition. Apart from the great problem of Pakistan and the division of India on that account, we had more than 500 States, each run by its own ruler in his own way and then there was a big chunk of the country which was under the rule of the British. Before leaving, they gave freedom to all the States from the obligations which they owed under various treaties and so it was open to every State either to become independent or to join India or Pakistan. It must be said to the credit of the rulers that most of them decided even before independence was given, to join India and one or two who were left behind for the time being also came in later: And today, or rather even before we were able to draw up the Constitution as a whole, the whole of the then Indian India had become a part of the rest of India. It was really a great thing on the part of Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel that within those two years, while we were busy preparing details of the Draft Constitution, he was busy inducing the princes to join practically unconditionally and to become part of India, and it was really a great thing that they all decided to merge themselves and to merge their States in India so that we were able to draft a Constitution which covered not only that part of it which was formerly under direct British rule, but also those areas which were under the Indian princes. And so when we got a Constitution, we divided the whole country into a number of States. Later on there have been changes with regard to the boundary of these States, and now I do not think there is any State which can be said to be a descendant of one of the Indian States in entirety. Either they

*Address to Legislators of Madras State in Madras on August 13, 1960.

have been broken up and joined to different States or they have joined to themselves some other portions of other States, and thus they have become a sort of independent States within the Indian Constitution without having any geographical relation to the old States except that they formed part of them. In this way we have succeeded in bringing the country under one Constitution, under one rule.

And now we have this great advantage that over this whole area, there is one Parliament whose writ runs throughout the country. There is one Central Government which has authority and jurisdiction over many subjects with regard to the whole country. Of course the States have got their autonomy in many respects, they have got exclusive jurisdiction on many points of great importance. But on the whole the country is now run as one State, and you can call it a unitary State or a unitary federal State or a federal unitary State, whatever you may like to call it. So that we have achieved something which was never achieved before by any ruler of this country in history. We had big emperors like Asoka who had a great part of the country under their dominion. We had also the Moghul emperors who had ruled over a great part of the country; but none of them could claim that their rule extended over the whole country. What happened was that there were local rulers who owed allegiance to them and each expressed his allegiance in some form or other by paying some tribute which in most cases was a nominal tribute, and according to the Hindu custom a Raja whose writ could go through the whole country without obstruction was called a Chakravarty, whose chakra could go throughout the country without obstruction and the Moghuls also had their own subas/divisions where subedars were more or less independent of the Central Government and only nominally owed allegiance to them. It is for the first time now that we have got this political unity. Of course we have had a history which is as old as the country itself, in which the geographical entity known as India has been recognised as one separate entity right from the Himalayas down to the Cape bounded on both sides east and west by the sea. This chunk of territory has always been regarded as one indivisible country although there have been separate States within it, but culturally and also by religion, the whole country was one. Later on when other religions came, even then the country as a whole did not cease to be one entity. It continued to be one country but not politically. Now that cultural unity has the added advantage of political and administrative unity. Therefore the field of our activity is now very much vaster than

it was at any time before. The opportunities are also very much greater than they were present under any other ruler in history in this country. The responsibilities therefore are also correspondingly greater than they ever were under the rulers. We have a great responsibility which we owe to ourselves, which we owe to our ancestors and even more to those who will follow us, to maintain and strengthen that unity so that there may be at no time any danger to it. Dangers, there are. We need not ignore them or minimize them. There are dangers from outside and there may be dangers also inside. Our own fissiparous tendencies have got to be conquered and they manifest themselves on the slightest occasion even without any sufficient cause, which causes anxiety to all lovers of the country. Some kind of difference between one group and another creates trouble, which is far more serious than it really looks if we look at the cause of it and the motive behind it. But we have no reason to be pessimistic, and, all that is wanted is that we should be cautious and careful and we should not be complacent in that we have succeeded in winning freedom and therefore we are perfectly safe to do whatever we like and we may not attend to small matters because the country is now free. I think it is up to us, to everyone of us, to whatever part of the country one belongs, to be always cautious and careful in his words and deeds and in his attitude towards others, whether they are close next door neighbours or they are distant brothers, say one thousand or two thousand miles away. But we have to acquire the habit of treating everyone as brother and sister and not only treating them outwardly so but to have that sincere feeling that we have brothers and sisters all over the country.

Mr. Cherian was good enough to mention the earthquake of Bihar. That was a very great calamity for a small part of the country. It was a small part of the country after all. But I was really happy not because of the disaster, but because of the sympathy it evoked throughout the country, and it was my good fortune to receive donations in money and in kind from each corner of the country for the relief of the sufferers there. That heartened me and that held out to me the hope that in this country we have begun to realise that if we prick a pin in some portion of the toe, it is not only the toe which suffers but even the brain which gets affected by the prick, so that a calamity which happened in one corner of the country roused the sympathy and support of the whole country. That kind of feeling should be developed so that whether it is a matter of joy or of sorrow, we should all be happy or sorrowful together, and

unless we develop that kind of genuine sympathy and love for the country as a whole, things are bound to occur which will upset us now and then. It is only a firm realization of that kind of fellow-feeling and oneness of the different parts of the country which will enable us to keep our heads cool when trouble arises here or there, by some mistake, by some chance or by the folly of someone or the misdeed of someone. It is the one thing which I have felt necessary to emphasise at this moment, and I have been repeating this, I think in all the speeches I have been delivering in these parts, and that is because I feel that it is really important to emphasise it at the present moment.

We have, as you all know, had several plans and these plans are expected to bear fruit and benefit different parts of the country. Of course it cannot be said that each part of the country, each little corner of the country is benefited by each plan. That is not possible. But the idea is to reach as much as possible, as many places as possible, and it cannot be done at one time. In successive plans, we are trying to go as far as possible. The plans are expected to raise the standard of living and we are all hoping that we shall be able to see the results better and more fully as time passes. Even as it is, I do not think there is any reason to be pessimistic or to be apologetic about these plans. We have had good success so far as we have gone and we have not yet achieved full results because we are just in the process and it takes some time for these plans to bear fruit. We are getting some fruits but not all the fruits, and in course of time all these plans will bring us more fruits and so in that way, so far as our economic conditions are concerned, we are hoping that we shall go on improving. There are of course difficulties at the present moment. We have great difficulty about food. It is really an absolute necessity for anybody and especially in our country with a rising population and with not much land left for extending our cultivation, we have to depend more and more on intensive cultivation, and for that purpose whatever is considered necessary and possible should be adopted and should be supported by all right-thinking people of the country. Of course there are other difficulties too: but I do not wish to dwell on those because my one idea is that so far as these things are concerned, we are on the road and we shall gradually move and move with all the experience which we are gaining and with all the knowledge which we are getting from other countries and the way in which other countries are progressing and also realising the fruits of our own plans. We can go on making more and more progress. But what I fear and what I wish to emphasise is this, that with all this

material prosperity we shall not be able to make our people quite happy. In this country at any rate we have learnt from time immemorial that after all happiness does not consist only in getting more material wealth and more material possessions. It is something which is beyond all these and above these, and one thing we cannot forget is that in spite of poverty and in spite of all the sufferings which our people have had to undergo, they have never lost hope or faith. They have always had a smile on their faces. Even the poorest man who did not have much clothing on the body, still wears a smile on his face. That is because from his earliest times, he has been brought up in an atmosphere of feeling contented with what he has, and so long as we continue to possess that great quality of remaining contented and remaining happy even if we are in trouble, we shall be able to make progress more and more.

Of course it is said on the other side that this kind of contentment only leads to misery and poverty. But I do not personally believe that. Of course I do not feel that misery necessarily consists in poverty or anything else, but misery consists in what we feel; and with the feeling that we have done our best and must now endure whatever comes, we shall be able to make ourselves happy even if we are in difficulty. Not that we should remain in poverty and destitution. We wish to progress materially; we wish to have more and more good things of the world; but side by side with these things, I think we should not neglect and ignore the fundamental teachings of our culture and religion, whether it is Islamic religion or the Christian religion or the Hindu religion. Of course in one respect they are all agreed that there can be no contentment only by possessing outward things, by possessing material goods. So what I sometimes wonder at is that we very often complain that we are doing so much, we are doing this and that for the people and still we are not getting good response from them. My own reading of the situation is that we have not approached them from that angle. If side by side with our programmes and material prosperity we could also link in some way the great cultural heritage of ours to remain contented with what we have although striving always for more, we would find, I suppose, better contentment and certainly we shall find people devoting themselves perhaps even more because now-a-days this race for material prosperity in its worst form comes only to this—get more, work less. But on the other hand, if we had that spiritual background, this would be—do more whether we get or not; and that I think is the only thing which in a country like India will serve and it is not a sadhu's or yogi's aphorism.

It is I think purely a wordly man's reading of our own culture and our own life: and I feel that it is up to us, especially to those of you who are occupying the position of representatives of the people, to carry to them this message also along with this spiritual heritage.

I do not know if I should take more of your time and I am not sure whether I have not loaded you with things which really do not matter: but I felt here I should not miss this opportunity of mentioning these things to you. Thank you.

VISIT TO GAUDIYA MATH, MADRAS*

I came not with a view to speaking here but to carry with me when I go back some inspiration from a place of worship. Today is a holy day and in many parts of India this day is celebrated by millions of people by offering prayers, listening to Bhajans and witnessing the janm of Sri Krishna. On such a day we are naturally reminded of the great heritage which we have received from our ancestors and the great teachings of Lord Krishna contained in the Bhagwad Gita. There he has promised that whenever there is need for His presence, He comes on earth in human form to destroy evil, and He does this time after time. It was in one of such incarnations that the world saw Him as Sri Krishna or Sri Ramachandra, and in living memory as Sri Chaitanya Mahaprabhu, and it is these avatars which have from time to time served to remind us of the relationship between man and man or the relation which should subsist between them and the way man must adopt in order to be able to appreciate his own position and ultimately to get what is called 'Mukti' by some and 'liberation' by others. Whether it is the one or the other, it is the same, losing oneself in God, and on a day like this one has to transport oneself at least for a moment and forget himself in the worship of God.

I have no words to thank you Swamiji. I only hope and pray that your prayers will be listened to and the country and the world at large will gain from the teachings of Mahaprabhu Chaitanya. We need teachings of that type and we need them most at a time when we are, as you have said, getting lost in material prosperity. It is therefore good that all institutions which claim to serve humanity spread God's mission: It is up to them to so conduct themselves and to so organize society as to make people feel that they are brothers and that they are sons of the same Father. Whatever the religion may be, whatever the form of worship, we all know that the theme is the same and here in India it is our proud privilege to claim that at no time in history has there been persecution of people for their religion. The mere fact that we have many schools of philosophy including atheism, goes to show that from time immemorial we have allowed man's thought to go to the highest it can reach and to go beyond that if that is possible, that is today, reaching God Himself, and therefore it is that so many faiths flourish in this country: And it is the duty of every Faith to inculcate that kind of brotherly feeling and that kind of Faith in Almighty which alone can safeguard us.

*Speech at the Gaudiya Math, Royapettah, Madras, on 14th August, 1960

WARNING AGAINST INTERNAL FRICTION*

I feel very happy to be in Madras this year to participate in the Independence Day celebrations and to take the salute at the parade held in connection with these celebrations. It is the second occasion for me to have been thus honoured by the people of this State and Madras city. The practice of the Independence Day being celebrated every year in the South by the President of India, I am glad to say, is now well established.

This day marks the anniversary of the victorious end of our struggle for freedom and is a very important landmark in the unfolding history of free India. Naturally it is as much a day of national rejoicings, when hopes and aspirations fill the hearts of all our people, young and old, men and women as of dedication. We feel happy that the process of emancipation, which began in Asia and Africa after the last war, began with the emergence of our country as an independent nation thirteen years ago. Though this is a small period in a country's history, we feel happy that during these years India has come to occupy in the comity of nations a place in keeping with her size and population and not incommensurate with her past as an ancient country with a glorious heritage. We can say in all modesty that our views receive consideration and are given due weight in the counsels of the world. We have made non-alignment with power blocs as a corner stone in the edifice of our foreign relations. That has enabled us not only to keep ourselves free from unwanted entanglement but also to judge things for ourselves. It has also enabled others to judge us on merit. We have, therefore, every reason to claim all as friends and we entertain no ill-will towards any other country or nation. And despite some unfortunate, uncalled for and unjust assault on our frontier, we have not lost our balance and plunged headlong into conflict, and have contented ourselves with pursuing the peaceful path of discussion and negotiation. Let us hope that the discussions will result in a satisfactory solution. At the same time we cannot afford to be complacent and have to be prepared for all contingencies.

We feel gratified to see the ever-increasing tempo of nation-building activity at home which, all agree, is fast changing the face of our country, particularly the shape of things in rural India. Our industrial and agricultural output is going up year

*Address to the Nation on Independence Day delivered after taking salute at the Independence day Parade at Madras, August 15, 1960.

by year fulfilling the targets set in our Five-Year Plans for the development of our national resources. The foundations are being laid and we can look forward with hope and confidence to progressive realisation of the aims and objectives of our plans.

I do not, however, propose to dwell on this aspect of our reconstruction activity, howsoever pleasant and gratifying it may be. I would rather assign myself the unpleasant task of referring today to certain unfortunate trends in India which have occasioned second thoughts in the minds of many patriotic Indians regarding the future happiness and prosperity of our country. These trends, unless they are checked betimes, have the potentiality of setting at naught the great strides that we have been lately making in the field of industry and other nation-building spheres. It should, therefore, be the foremost duty of every well-wisher of our country to stop the march of these fissiparous forces so that the freedom that we have attained after centuries of foreign domination and the opportunities that have come our way to reorientate our economy and social structure are not frittered away.

Let me, therefore, stress today the need of strengthening the forces of unity in the country by eliminating all causes of friction through goodwill, understanding and mutual accommodation. We have witnessed in the recent past certain unfortunate happenings, the very reference to which makes me sad beyond words. Whatever their background or the pre-disposing causes or the immediate provocation, there can be no excuse for letting tension and ill-will get the better of our reason and judgment and our feeling of nationalism. Such happenings inevitably create an atmosphere not only of ill-will among various sections of the Indian society but tend to encourage feelings of exclusiveness and bitterness which threaten the very unity of the country. Whether it is the question of religion or of language or of any other aspect of our life or activity, resort to violence is indefensible. Let us understand that it is also profitless. I would appeal to all my countrymen to have a broad vision and not to lose the sense of perspective. Given the right perspective and mutual forbearance, I am quite sure such ugly situations as we have had misfortune of witnessing in certain parts of India, would never recur. The existing tension and risks at our frontiers ought to strengthen our will to unity within.

I know it is not usual to speak in this tone on the Independence Day. If I have done so it should be taken as a measure of our earnestness to set things right and my personal keenness

that the trends I have referred to are checked before it is too late.

It has been a pleasure to watch this parade in which contingents of our Armed Forces, the Madras Police, the National Cadet Corps, and others have participated. I congratulate them on their smart turnout and thank all those gathered here for their co-operation and active participation in this morning's function. Jai Hind.

NO IMPOSITION OF HINDI: PLEA FOR UNITY AND UNDERSTANDING*

I was glad to see quite a large number of you this morning at the time of the parade. That was a formal and ceremonial occasion. I am happy to meet you once again in the evening in a somewhat informal way. You will permit me to share with you some of the thoughts which are agitating my mind.

I have been called to a high office by the people of this country. We have by and large adopted the Constitution of England for our country. That Constitution gives me a position which is very high, with great honour but without responsibility. Although every action of the Government is taken in my name, I do not have the responsibility for all that is done either by the Government at the Centre or in the States. That does not mean that I have nothing to do and I am holding only a sinecure office. It places me in the happy position from which I can view the actions of the Government all over the country from a detached position; and from that position I try to go round the country and see things for myself.

We have adopted a democratic system of government for our country; and of the democratic systems which are prevalent in the world, we have adopted largely the British model. As you all know, the British Constitution is very largely an unwritten Constitution. Much of it is governed by conventions which have acquired the force of law in course of time. We have, on the other hand, adopted a written Constitution. But do not be scared away by the idea that we are completely rigid on account of a written Constitution. We have the flexibility of the British unwritten Constitution also along with our written Constitution. What I feel is this, that in this country we should develop the conventions which go with democracy in England, and those conventions govern not only the governments but also the people. The elected representative is as much governed by these conventions as the electors themselves. The members of the Government and of the Party which is in the majority are governed by these conventions as much as the members of the Opposition. Each has his rights, but even more than the rights, each has his obligations and responsibilities. We are sometimes apt to ignore the duties and responsibilities, and to insist too much on the rights.

*Address to the people of Madras at a public meeting held at the Marina Beach, Madras on August 15, 1960.

In my wanderings, I have seen most parts of the country more than once, and if I say anything which you do not like, please do not think that I am referring to you. That is because there are tendencies and there are signs which need to be studied and which need also to be remedied if possible. Tendencies are visible in all directions which indicate that we have not completely understood our obligations to the country. In many places we find that the feeling of regionalism gets the better of every other feeling. In other places we find that the feeling of casteism gets the better of other kinds of feeling. We also notice that provincial feeling sometimes takes us off our feet. And last but not least, linguism is another subject which makes us wild.

While we have all the States with their own peculiarities, with their own specialities and with their own personalities, we have got the Indian nation as a whole which comprises all the States and all the personalities of the States. While therefore our Constitution provides for the fullest development of each State in its own way, in its own personality, it also provides that they will all work together so that the country as a whole may grow and prosper. Therefore every State has two-fold responsibilities. On the one hand it has its responsibility to the Central Government. On the other, it has its responsibility equally to its own minorities, to its own groups: and the State can prosper only if it can realise its responsibilities in both these respects fully. Taking the responsibilities of the State to itself, we have to consider how it treats the minorities within it. There are places where the caste plays havoc, and the provisions of the Constitution which are intended for the service of all, are sometimes used for the purpose of groups. Groups may be either religious groups or may be caste groups or they may be linguistic groups. It is therefore necessary that each State should realise its responsibilities to each of these groups. While it is necessary that the language of the State, that is to say, of the majority of the people, must have its due place in the administration and in educational matters of the State, it is equally necessary that those who constitute a minority within the State, the linguistic minority, should also feel quite safe within the State.

We have had some very unfortunate happenings within recent times. Very largely perhaps—I do not know the facts fully to be able to say with certainty, but perhaps very largely at the bottom of these happenings were linguistic considerations of a narrow type. There might have been also something about services. We have therefore to be always very careful and cautious that none of these things should give cause for trouble to anyone.

Our Constitution as well as our administrative orders have guaranteed even to small minorities the protection of the language, so that the children may be educated, at any rate in the primary stages, in their own mother-tongue if there is a sufficient number of them demanding education in any particular language. Similarly, in services also, regard has to be had so that everyone gets his full share in them. But in this connection we must remember that after all government service is not the only source of employment. With the development of our industries more and more, equal attention should be directed towards them and less and less dependence on government service will become possible. Until that stage is reached, it has to be seen that no one has a grievance because he belongs to a minority group, and certainly no one should have a grievance regarding admission to institutions because he belongs to a minority group.

So much about the duty of a State to its own citizens. But the State has its duty to the Centre also. About that we have provisions in the Constitution laying down the duties as well as the rights and responsibilities of the States and the Centre.

As the question of language has been agitating the minds of many people, I would like to refer to it in some detail. Even while we were engaged in the struggle for freedom, Mahatma Gandhi realised that we shall have to solve the question of the language of the country. We have so many languages which are spoken in different parts of the country; and because we felt that each language deserves to be developed to its fullest extent, in the very first session of the Congress over which we had control we got the Constitution of the Congress amended. It was in the Congress of December 1920 at Nagpur that linguistic provinces were created for the Congress. And even in States which had more than one language, there were several Congress provinces. Those of you who are old enough to remember those events will know that even in this State you had the Tamil language, you had the Telugu language, you had also in parts of it the Malayalam language, and also the Kanarese language. There was one administrative province, but the Congress had several provinces within it. Similarly in the Bombay province, we had not only Marathi and Gujarati but we had also Kanarese; and the Congress had several provinces within that State as well.

So the idea of linguistic provinces is not a fad of the present Government. The idea of linguistic provinces was given by Mahatma Gandhi and it was only fulfilled by the present Government by legislation. The idea behind the linguistic pro-

vinces is to enable the languages of the various provinces to develop to the fullest extent. The Constitution has provided for it and we want each province to develop its own language to the fullest extent possible. Even our seats of learning which are very conservative in this respect are now gradually coming to recognize the place of the Indian languages in their curricula. Many of them have already adopted partially the State languages as media of instruction in their respective areas, and although it cannot be said today that all the universities have adopted the regional languages as the media of instruction to the highest standard, the day is not far distant when they will have to adopt them.

Not only in the field of education, but also in the field of administration, the provincial languages have to find their place; and while at the lowest levels of the administration the provincial languages have always been used, they are now being largely used in the higher rungs also; and the day is not distant when they will be used exclusively in all the administrative matters within each State. This was exactly what Mahatma Gandhi intended.

But Gandhiji also thought of a language for the whole country, and naturally he thought of Hindi. I say naturally because he saw that it was spoken by a very large number of people, larger than those speaking any other language. When people talk of Hindi imperialism, I sometimes wonder what they mean. The idea of introducing Hindi as an all-India language has not emanated from any Hindi-speaking person. There have been two persons in Northern India who have been responsible for the spread of Hindi as an all-India language. Hindi was not the language of either of the two. In the seventies of the last century, Swami Dayanand realised that if he wanted to spread his own form of Hinduism, he must resort to Hindi. You may not know, he did not come from any Hindi-speaking province. He came from Kathiawar. And some fifty years later Mahatma Gandhi took up the same work. He also did not belong to a Hindi-speaking province. Although in the later days of his life he was speaking Hindi fluently and addressing large meetings in Hindi, I remember the days when he was very very faltering and he was unable to talk fluently in Hindi. Even in South Africa, he had conceived the idea that Hindi alone could be the language for the whole of India for communication with one another. Even there he had been addressing people, including Tamilians, in his own broken Hindi. And when he came to Champaran in 1917, he was just able to speak a few words. But

he was above all a practical person. He therefore told us that he would not insist upon his Hindi but would talk to us in English and listen to our English; and much of the work that we did there was conducted through the medium of English. That was because he felt the work was more important at that time and therefore he must take resort to English. Not that he had given up the idea of having Hindi as an all-India language for all-India purposes. Even from there he sent his dear son and Swami Satyadev to Madras to spread Hindi; and the foundations of the Hindi Prachar Sabha were laid then, not by a Hindi-speaking man but by Mahatma Gandhi and his son.

You have therefore no reason to think that it is the Hindi-speaking people who are trying to impose any language on you. We are as practical as, I hope, Mahatma Gandhi. And just as he agreed to conduct the work in English because he considered work important, we are conducting our work in English even now. And it has been authoritatively stated that we shall continue to do that so long as you wish us to do it. But may I put one thing to you? You expect us to respect your feelings, and we do. We do not want to impose anything on you. Not even an Indian language. Please do not wish to impose on us a foreign language—I have therefore no fear that the time will come when no one will have any reason to complain that anything has been forced on him. I am sure just as we are respecting your feelings, you will respect the feelings of others also, and we are determined not to impose Hindi on you and you will also relax and not impose English on us.

So far as education is concerned, I think Hindi is also spreading very fast in these parts. I believe more people have learnt Hindi in these parts than English. Hindi Prachar has served at least 70 lakhs of men and women in these parts. Some 15 lakhs have sat at its examinations. I do not know how many people have passed the English examinations. I do not wish to embarrass you by asking how many of you know English and how many of you know Hindi.

I wish the people of the North also realised their responsibilities in these matters. I have a feeling that if they had left the question of Hindi to be solved by the South Indians, we would have made greater progress by now. The way in which Hindi has been adopted and accepted as a matter of study has encouraged in me the hope that you will adopt Hindi for other purposes also, and I want the people of the North to realise that they cannot do anything according to their own wishes without

consulting and without acquiring the consent of the people in the South. After all, it is one of the fundamentals of the Constitution that the wishes of the minority must be respected. But it is only for administrative purposes that we want Hindi or other Indian languages to be studied. It is necessary that the different parts of the country should understand each other much better than they do today; and the way to the hearts of the people is through their language. I am a Hindi-speaking man, but I had the good fortune of receiving my education in Bengal, in Calcutta and I picked up a little Bengali then. Some years ago when I was invited to Calcutta to deliver the convocation address, I spoke in my own broken Bengali. I do not imagine there was anything very valuable in what I said. But it had one great advantage—it reached the hearts of the Bengalis.

I want the people of the North to study the languages of the South. It will be through their languages that they will be able to reach their hearts. It is not possible for everyone to learn so many languages. But it is possible to translate from one language to another from different parts of the country, and that can be done only if people study the other languages. More than that, it is necessary that people should travel through the country, and I do not want them to travel and talk in English. Well, so long as you cannot talk in Hindi, you had better talk in your own language when you come to us and it should be our look-out to get translators to interpret you to our general public. Although I could have got many persons from amongst you who could have translated my speech into Tamil if I had spoken in Hindi, I have not done so. That is out of respect for you. I was really afraid that you might charge me with imperialism if I did so. All our lives we have fought imperialism. Please do not imagine that at the fag end of my life I would be guilty of imperialism of any kind.

I am afraid I have strayed from the subject I wanted to discuss. But the real point is that we want unity in the country. Provincial feeling, caste feeling, linguistic feeling, should all be made subservient to the feeling of the country, and I am quite sure that the feeling of patriotism will dictate to you the adoption of Hindi in due course; and I can tell my North Indian friends that when you take to Hindi, they must beware that they will be defeated in examinations. Even those who are thinking of services in the Centre, should not despair. You have defeated the Englishman in English, and I have no doubt you will defeat the Hindi-speaking man also in Hindi. Therefore there is no

fear for anyone who wants to go in for service. But so long as that fear subsists, however unfounded it may be, we have to respect it.

I would ask you in all seriousness to think of the country, and wherever you see any fissiparous tendency, just try to plug it there. Thank you.

BIDDING FAREWELL TO THE PEOPLE OF MADRAS STATE*

I am leaving today after a ten-day stay in Madras State. I am glad to have joined you this year in the celebration of the Independence Day.

During these days, I had occasion to visit a few districts of your State, apart from having some engagements in Madras city. In fact, I intended to visit some more places but feel very sorry that I was unable to do so. I am so much gratified to see the all-round progress that your State is making. It has had from olden times well-developed methods of irrigation, to which have been added, from time to time, modern techniques for harnessing the waters of the rivers. To my mind the real Ganga of India is the Cauvery whose every drop of water is utilised for the good of the people. Your arts and handicrafts have a value of their own. Other developmental work in the State is also making good headway.

In the sphere of education, however, particularly primary education, your State has achieved something to which I would like to draw the attention of the rest of the country. Free mid-day meals for school children and the provision of uniforms and other facilities to young students and teachers are the main features of this drive to popularise education and to put this activity on a sound footing. As I said at Vellore the other day while addressing the School Improvement Conference, this example of non-official and voluntary help and people's initiative is indeed inspiring. Let me compliment the people and the Government of Madras on it. I wish them good luck and still greater success in these efforts which alone can give economic and social content to our political freedom.

I have been overwhelmed by the affection and kindness showered on me, though, familiar as I have been with the people of Madras for many years, it has caused me no surprise. I am thankful to you all, the Government and the people of this State for your goodness and wish the people of the State a still greater measure of happiness and prosperity.

*Message for the people of Madras State.

SILVER JUBILEE OF ANDHRA ASSOCIATION*

I am very glad to be present here this evening in response to your kind invitation to inaugurate the Silver Jubilee Celebrations of the Andhra Association. I can well appreciate, and indeed partake in, your feelings of joy on your Association completing 25 years of its existence, for I think it is a fit occasion for celebration. Andhra is one of our big and important States, and for understandable reasons the number of Andhra residents in Delhi has been steadily going up. I must compliment the founders of this Association on their far-sightedness in setting up this organization which has now gathered so much momentum and become the principal representative body of the Andhras in New Delhi.

Delhi, our Union Capital, is already a cosmopolitan city. It is essential that all the various strands in our cultural and regional pattern should be represented here, as I believe is the case in all metropolitan cities, of big countries at any rate. I particularly appreciate your approach to this question of having a cultural organization of your own in Delhi. Your President has rightly said that your aim is to foster fellow-feeling among Andhras and non-Andhras and that for that reason you mix freely with others and are as anxious to know and understand them as to project your own self for their enlightenment and advantage. Let us be sure that such institutions representing regional interests or culture in the Capital encourage rather than retard the process of emotional integration and cultural unification of the country. I know it is the former rather than the latter objective which is responsible for bringing such institutions into being, but I have said it only by way of precaution. It is good to be on our guard when things are moving fast.

It is, indeed, gratifying to look through your annual report and see that your Association has been really very active, covering a wide range of activity, social, educational and cultural. I welcome your project to stage Telugu dramas and exhibit Telugu films in Delhi. Let us hope these activities draw non-Andhras also and provide them an opportunity of appreciating the rich cultural heritage of Andhra. As I have often said, in our mosaic cultural pattern all the beautifying hues and designs are supplied by the various regions which comprise our Union. It is not a new development; nor has it been brought about by our recent political unification. This cultural pattern has behind it the sanction of

*Speech at the Silver Jubilee Celebrations of the Andhra Association at New Delhi on August 27, 1960.

a historical tradition which goes back to at least 3,000 years. I would rather say that it is the foundation of this traditional and historical unity of thought and culture on which the edifice of our present-day unity stands. No one can, therefore, cherish anything but the deepest regard for the languages, the customs and the local traditions of the various regions in India. We must foster and encourage them to strengthen to the very basis of our unity. Insofar as the Andhra Association has been seeking to do it, it deserves appreciation and every possible encouragement. Let us hope your wish to have an Andhra Bhavan in Delhi would soon materialise, so that you are able to house your offices in your own building and provide such amenities as you may cater for to Andhras and others.

RESPONSIBILITIES OF POLICE SUPERINTENDENTS*

Your work becomes very important, considered from the social point of view. So long as human nature remains what it is at present, we cannot say we shall have no crimes at all. Crimes are bound to occur and we have to assure the people under your charge that they will enjoy peace and that they will be free from the attention of criminals. At the same time you have to, in a sense, put the criminals also in their place, so that they may not prove a danger to society. Reconciling individual's liberty and at the same time freedom to commit crime is not always easy. You have to perform that difficult task.

It must be said on the whole that the Police have proved quite competent to deal with various kinds of situations. Now these situations are becoming more complex. As you said, industrial disputes are of a new kind altogether. They were not here before. Now with the development of industries, there are industrial disputes and there is at the present moment a certain wave of violence which creeps in everywhere; even in unexpected quarters violence creeps in, and that is why public meetings have always to be looked after, not necessarily because people go there to commit violence, but there is no knowing that something may turn up and that may result in violence. You have to be on your guard in that respect. And of course individual crimes are always there—robberies, murders etc. are constantly happening. You do require really a very high degree of integrity. You will be in charge of districts and under your supervision you will have a large body of men who will work. It is not enough that you are men of integrity by yourselves and good and honest; but you have to see that other people also behave well, and quite a large number of them. Your subordinate officials have constantly to come in contact with criminals, and we cannot blame the smaller officers if they sometimes go wrong and if they are unable to rise above the surrounding influence of the criminals with whom they have to come in contact and with whom they have to deal.

Therefore your work is really very responsible work and very difficult work. You have to keep an eye over all your subordinates and they have, in their turn, to keep an eye over all the criminals, and also to look after the good people.

With the various kinds of developments now, the society is becoming more and more complicated. Industrial development is leading to this kind of thing. Then in villages also, we

*Address to the Superintendents of Police on 31st August, 1960.

are having different kinds of village organizations. If they are good, they will be very helpful: but they can be bad also and you have to look after them too. A stage may be reached when your help will be required in that context.

So, all that I can say is that you have to be very strict and at the same time sympathetic. You have to so conduct yourselves that you can win the confidence of your subordinates, and even more than that, of the people amongst whom you have to work, and that you can do by your integrity, by your straightforwardness and by your devotion to your own duty so that you may be able to discharge your duties without any fear or favour. That is another important aspect of it.

I can talk only in a few general terms. I suppose these are considerations which come handy in all circumstances in which you may be placed, and whatever problem you may have to deal with, these considerations always come in.

SUBRAMANIA BHARATI, A GREAT TAMIL POET & PATRIOT*

I am glad to have got this opportunity to say a few words about the great Tamil poet and patriot, Subramania Bharati, on the eve of the Bharati Festival to be inaugurated tomorrow by our Prime Minister. Bharati's poetic genius and burning patriotism combined while he was still young to give us songs and throbbing verses which count among the very best of Indian poetry. In fact, I have been so much impressed by what I have heard of Bharati's life and works that often I feel sorry for not being able to get at his original verse in Tamil. We must devise ways and means to carry Bharati's message to distant corners of the country and to familiarise all sections of the Indian population with the works of this gifted poet-patriot. I welcome every effort made so far in this direction by organisations, including the National Cultural Organisation, to popularise Bharati and his message in the North and elsewhere among non-Tamil speaking people. It is not only for our Tamil-speaking brethren to pay their tribute of love and appreciation to his great genius, but it should be the right also of all of us who speak other languages to offer our tribute of praise and appreciation to Subramania Bharati. Let me hope this Festival which begins tomorrow will strive to achieve this end and thus show the way to other cultural organisations by spreading in the North Bharati's message of Vedant and patriotism. This can be done in North India by those who can translate his works in a worthy manner and thus enrich our literary heritage from Tamil. I feel sure that Bharati's genius and our earnestness will cut across all linguistic obstacles to the Indian people's recognition of Bharati as one of the foremost poets of modern India.

*Broadcast Talk on Surbramaniam Bharati on September 10, 1960.

CENTENARY CELEBRATIONS OF DR. VISWESWARAYA*

Shri Datar and Friends,

We have assembled here this evening to offer our tribute of praise and appreciation and our heart-felt felicitations to Dr. Visweswaraya. There is a saying in Hindi "Honehar birwan ke hot chikane pat". A promising plant has smooth leaves so that a person who is destined to rise in future shows symptoms early in age which forecasts his future. Sir Visweswaraya, as you all know, did not come of a very affluent family and his early days in school were like the days of a person who did not have much to spare for education. In spite of that handicap he managed to top all the examination lists and acquired scholarships with the help of which he proceeded further and further on. Ultimately when he passed the Engineering examination and took the first place, he was naturally offered a job very soon after he had passed the examination. Thus began a career which had not, fortunately for us and happily for the whole country, yet ended. This was some 77 years ago because it was in 1883 that he got the first appointment as an Assistant Engineer and continued holding different posts in the Engineering line rising from the lowest rung up to the highest within a period of nearly 25 years during which he continued in that line.

His services came to be recognised at a very early age and it was then discovered how devoted he used to be to his work and to the study of the details connected with any scheme which he had in hand and with what devotion and assiduity he pursued the work which he took in hand. There was nothing surprising then when one after another offers came to him to help in particular projects which were then under the contemplation of the Government.

His services under the British Government were mostly confined to Bombay, to the State of Bombay as it then was, and it comprised Sind also within the State of Bombay. Therefore he worked out details of many schemes of water works, of drainage, of banks and embankments, of canals and channels for irrigation purposes in various districts in which he served. Everywhere his work was appreciated as of very high quality and when he retired from the Engineering line and became the Diwan of Mysore, he brought to his work not only his vast experience as an Engineer but also vast knowledge of people with whom he came into contact and about

*Speech made presiding over the Centenary Celebrations of Dr. M. Visweswaraya in the Constitution Club, New Delhi on the 15th September, 1960.

whom he read and studied. In his capacity as Diwan he got an opportunity of putting into practice many of the things which he had in mind and not only he built the great Krishnasagar Dam and the connected irrigation system with it, but he also built the University of Mysore. He also erected several factories including the Bhadravati Works, the Sandalwood factory and so many other things within the Mysore State and it was not only within the Mysore State that his services were appreciated but in other places and distant places also he was requisitioned and consulted for his vast experience in the Engineering line.

He was interested in Engineering undoubtedly but he was no less interested in education and his interest in education is only an illustration of the way he wanted to build up the whole country with the help of education, industries and with the help of irrigational projects so that there might be an all round integrated development of the country as a whole. I am glad he has succeeded to a considerable extent.

Dr. Rao has told us how he forecast many of things which we are now taking up or which we are thinking of taking up. You have also heard how even at this age he takes active interest in projects with regard to which he is consulted by Engineers. Just now Shri Karnail Singh mentioned the Mokameh Bridge. At that age it would have been difficult for any one to think of leaving his home but not for Dr. Visweswaraya. He went not only to Mokameh, but he visited so many places and in the midst of all kinds of difficulties and inconveniences which one can expect in such circumstances and ultimately gave an award which settled a dispute which had been going on for 20, 25 years among the Engineers.

I may mention one or two things which may interest you, and perhaps also amuse you. We all have heard about his long life and many people have been naturally interested trying to find out the cause of not only his long life but good and healthy life and that even at this age he lives the life which lived 50 years ago and all that, so far as I have heard, is due to his moderate living so that nothing goes wrong, nothing is misplaced, nothing is missing, everything is in its place which he finds at the right time and at the right place. All order in his whole life and that we can see from the dress he always wears and has worn all these 70 years or so and we can also see how meticulously correct he is not only in his dress but everything he does and that meticulously correct mind works not only when he works out any Engineering problem but also when he talks to friends, when he is having his food, when

is talking of Constitution and this meticulously correct attitude to life, correct attitude with regard to everything is wholly responsible for the kind of health he has been able to maintain all these years.

Someone was discussing with him the question of his long life and the friend who was talking to him wanted to know the secret of his longevity and he is reported to have said "Death came to me but I was not at home, so it had to go away". We have really to be thankful to God that there is a man on whom death can wait and has to go away when he is not at home to receive it. He has lived all his life with this meticulous correctness. I give you an illustration of it.

Some years ago he was given the honour of Bharat Ratna. He came to receive it and stayed in the Rashtrapati Bhavan where all guests of that type stay. I was under the impression that he would be staying there for two or three days. One morning he suddenly came to me and told me that he was going. I was somewhat surprised and asked him where he was going. He said he was going to a hotel. I asked him "why are you going to a hotel? I hope you are quite comfortable here and you have had no inconvenience here". He said "I am quite comfortable and have no inconvenience here but I understand that the rule of this House is that no guest should stay here for more than 3 days. That period is over and so I am going". I said that might be the rule at one time but it was no longer the rule and at any rate it did not apply to him. He would not listen. He not only accepted but obeyed the old rule which is out of date now. But that shows his meticulously correct attitude which he always had with regard to all matters. That is why all his schemes turned out to be meticulously correct and after long long discussions, as Karnail Singh has pointed out, they decided to build a bridge at Mokameh and the bridge was built. It has been working quite well, as well as anyone can expect it to work. That is because, as Shri Karnail Singh has pointed out, he had devoted meticulous care to the examination of this scheme as he had done with any other scheme he had dealt with at any time of his life.

Now-a-days we hear all kinds of complaints from students, from young people, from other classes of people. We are sometimes in a hurry to do a thing without actually knowing it and it very often happens that we hope to achieve result without working for the result. If there is anything that we can learn from the life of Sir Visweswaraya, it is that we should not expect to achieve anything without hard and devoted work and without attending

to the minutest details of it. I would urge all our people to learn this great lesson.

Now that we are engaged in the tremendous task of building up a new India, every one, whatever his station in life, should work hard and pay all the attention that is possible for him to pay to his work. We should not leave anything undone nor should we leave anything to be done by somebody else for us. If everyone of us does his duty that comes nearest to his hand, we should rest assured that the rest will take care of itself and he need not worry about what others do and achieve so long he does the duty that has come nearest to his hand. This is the lesson we have to learn and the life of Dr. Visweswaraya ought to remind us of our responsibilities and duties and also of the great joy we may derive from the fulfilment of duties and responsibilities.

I am glad that we have met this evening and on your behalf I would like to convey to Sir Visweswaraya our felicitations and our thanks to God for sparing him for many years to serve the country and to serve us.

BANQUET IN HONOUR OF PRESIDENT OF GUINEA*

Your Excellencies, Ladies and Gentlemen,

I feel happy to welcome in our midst tonight His Excellency Mr. Sekou Toure, President of Guinea. We welcome him as our honoured guest and as Head of an African State which has recently won its freedom. His Excellency's presence here, though his stay in our country is going to be regrettably too short, provides us a welcome opportunity of expressing our gratification at the attainment of the status of a sovereign republic by Guinea, one of the several States of the African continent which have happily emerged of late as free nations. India has never made secret of her sympathies with peoples of all countries struggling for political freedom, and since our independence we have lost no opportunity of voicing this feeling in the United Nations and other international forums. His Excellency Mr. Sekou Toure is a man of peace and goodwill and is at the moment touring various countries of the world for promoting international amity and goodwill. Being ourselves wedded to these ideals, we are glad to have got this opportunity of welcoming him and offering him our sincerest good wishes for the fulfilment of the mission he has at heart.

This occasion tonight has become doubly auspicious for us, for we have in our midst another great world figure. His Excellency Mr. Jozef Cyrankiewicz, Prime Minister of Poland, to whom I extend a very hearty welcome. Mr. Jozef Cyrankiewicz is not new to us, for three years ago he was pleased to spend a few days with us in our country. Poland and India share between themselves good many ideals and economic objectives and have the friendliest of relations. The bond of friendship has since been further strengthened by close commercial and cultural exchanges between our two countries. I hope it would be permissible if I welcome His Excellency Mr. Jozef Cyrankiewicz tonight as an old friend and the head of the Government of a very friendly country.

Ladies and gentlemen, may I request you now to join me in drinking the Toast to the health of His Excellency Mr. Sekou Toure, President of Guinea, and the President of Poland, and to the happiness and prosperity of the peoples of Guinea and Poland?

*Speech at the Banquet in honour of the President of Guinea at New Delhi on September 23, 1960.

FESTIVAL OF COW WORSHIP*

I feel happy once again to say a few words about the Gopashtami Day and the important role of the cow and its progeny in a country's economy, specially in a predominantly agricultural country like ours. The institution of the festival of Gopashtami is a significant reminder of the realistic attitude which ancient Indians brought to bear on the utility of cows, bullocks, etc., in their everyday life. As principal instruments of agriculture, communication and source of nourishing food in the shape of milk and its products, the bovine family came to be looked upon as a sign of material wealth. Our old traditions, popular sayings and literature are full of references to *Godhan*, i.e., cattle wealth. Tradition also enjoins on us to do something by way of doing something in return for this goodness, and it was sought to be made a regular part of a householder's duties through raising tending the cow and looking after the cattle to the level of a festival. Even today in spite of the changed circumstances and many innovations, cattle bear the main burden of our agriculture and remain the symbol of material prosperity at least in the countryside.

This tradition rooted in our past coupled with the fact that we have the world's largest share of the cattle population, numbering a little less than 160 million, is a compelling argument in favour of reviving the festival of Gopashtami, that is to say, doing all that is possible for the care and development of our cattle wealth in a planned manner. In recent times, unfortunately, Gopashtami has been reduced merely to a vaguely religious ceremony shorn of all its economic content and practical utility. Now that we are planning for prosperity of the Nation—a nation three-fourths of whose population still lives in villages and whose welfare is, therefore, conditioned by progress in agriculture, developing and improving our cattle wealth must be one of the important plans in our programme.

Though we can feel happy that India is rich in the number of heads of cattle that it possesses, we can hardly compliment ourselves on the condition of these cattle and the way in which we treat them. The milk yield of our cows is deplorably low and the other benefits we derive from the cattle are minimised if not wasted through negligence and ignorance. It is a matter to which we must apply ourselves seriously by following a well chalked out programme of development. Our foremost duty is to improve the breeds of our cattle through modern scientific ways so that

*Broadcast on the eve of Gopashtami Day.

they may serve the double purpose of giving a plentiful supply of milk and also strong and sturdy draught cattle to help serve our agricultural and transport requirements. Next come taking proper care of the cattle individually and collectively. We must also devote proper attention to the question of providing wholesome fodder and other nutritious feeds for them. Then alone it would be reasonable to expect better return and greater benefits from this great national asset, our cattle wealth.

I am glad to say that the All India Gosamvardhan Samiti, which was specifically constituted for this purpose, has been alive to its duties. It has been making persistent efforts to enlist public co-operation in the important task of preserving and improving the Nation's cattle wealth. Our Ministry of Agriculture is lending full support to this programme. A number of schemes for cattle development have been sponsored under the five-year plans. I hope this effort and all the available resources will be utilised in a co-ordinated manner so that our plans of better breeding, better nutrition and disease control can achieve the desired results. On the Gopashtami Day we should give thought to this problem and make a firm resolve to improve our cattle wealth, for efficient animal husbandry has to be pursued as an integral part of a sound system of agriculture. Let me hope the Gopashtami Day celebrations will serve to make our people conscious of this question and thus prepare the ground for the implementation of the programme of improvement and development of our cattle.

U.N. DAY CELEBRATIONS*

It has given me great pleasure to be present here today to participate in the U.N. Day celebrations organized by your Society. Ever since India became a member of this organization we have been celebrating the U.N. Day and reiterating our resolve to uphold the principles of the Charter which brought the United Nations into being and to do all that lies in our power to strengthen this World Organization. But this year's celebrations appear to be particularly significant, firstly, because with the coming in of a number of new members from the newly-freed African countries the very character of the U.N. is undergoing a change, and, secondly, because the present-day world problems are presenting complicated issues to be tackled by U.N. The mere fact of the enrolment of no less than 15 new African countries as members within the short space of one year only, has created some of them.

It is the new member-nations whose problems no less than their views and opinions are likely to lend great variety to its discussions and indeed to change the very character, if not the fundamental constitution, of the United Nations. But for the time being it is also a fact that it is this team enrolment of newly-freed countries of Asia and Africa which has touched off acrimonious controversies resulting in international disputes and tension. Viewed in the context of human affairs, particularly the history of human institutions, the present phase need not cause any undue dismay to anyone. The United Nations is only 15 years old and no one need grudge it if it has also its teething troubles. The fact that all the controversies are being raised within the ambit of the United Nations and it is to U.N. that the nations look for a solution of the resultant disputes is the manifestation of a welcome trend. That trend is the universal desire, whether explicit or implicit, that all international disputes should be settled in a peaceful manner and that the U.N. is the obvious forum for undertaking that difficult task. I do not think one would be guilty of over-optimism in drawing this conclusion from the phase through which the U.N. is at the moment passing. Luckily it is now realised on all hands that war, if not checked or at least controlled betimes, will spell disaster for the human race. Nuclear war is not going to differentiate between the victor and the vanquished or between the fighting forces and peaceful populations far removed from the battlefields. By

*Speech at the U.N. Day Celebrations at the All-India Fine Arts and Crafts theatre on October 22, 1960.

reason of the development of science and technology, we seem to have arrived at the *reductio ad absurdum* of violence, brute force and aggression. Any further indulgence in violence may land the whole of mankind into irretrievable disaster.

It is this conviction which is the basis of the United Nations and which is also its inherent strength. Let us hope this conviction which has touched all minds but has yet to pull them out of the traditional grooves of thinking, will continue to grow stronger so that avoidance of aggression and the principle of peaceful co-existence become articles of human faith. I know this ideal sounds lofty, but both expediency and wisdom dictate it. I am sure a day would come when this fact would be universally accepted. I am also sure that more than anything else it is the U.N. which will bring that day nearer and help the world in the achievement of the said ideal. It is no longer idle thinking to say that it is the United Nations which is, in a limited sense today, and which is going to be in a truer and wider sense tomorrow, the guardian of democracy, peace and justice in the world.

May I offer a word of congratulation to the organizers of this evening's function which I am quite sure is going to give an impetus to the kind of thinking that I have mentioned in this speech of mine. I am sure that in this country we require people belonging to all groups and all classes to come together every now and then. It is in that light that I welcome all such organizations and all such manifestations, and I wish you all success in your great effort.

STRENGTHEN THE WORLD ORGANISATION*

It gives me a great pleasure to greet all members of the United Nations on the occasion of its birth anniversary.

During the 15 years of its existence the United Nations has never before been so much in the news as today. In itself, the fact that it is attracting more and more attention every day is a happy augury. As the number of free nations increases and the problems calling for solution multiply, the U.N. as the accredited organisation of 99 nations is gradually assuming an importance which not many could have foreseen. Complications and entanglements notwithstanding, there is reason to feel gratified that the U.N. has come to be associated with the hope of tackling peacefully, and let us hope successfully, international disputes of all kinds.

From this role of the United Nations also flow the problems it is busy tackling at present. Whatever the difficulty or delay involved in arriving at a peaceful solution of the current problems, it is now universally acknowledged that the U.N. has proved its worth as a constructive and reliable shock-absorber in the midst of divergent claims and growing tensions.

The case of Congo is a typical example illustrating both the nature of an international dispute at its worst and the capacity of U.N. to cope with an inflammable situation. Sharp differences of ideology and approach towards problems are reflected in the stand taken up by nations on questions like that of Congo. While one can see no harm in full freedom of expression, it is to be hoped that the very divergence of views and the very sharpness of ideological differences will eventually convince member-nations of the desirability of peaceful co-existence. It is an ideal which we can never hope to escape if we desire a workable solution of disputes international or even national. Let us hope the day is not far off when this fact would be recognised and this ideal accepted by all nations. That would be the day when it will be possible to say that war and aggression as means of settling disputes among nations have been outlawed.

Let us hope meanwhile that the thorny questions that loom at present before the U.N. and which continue to agitate the minds of several nations will draw a greater measure of agreement than they have been able to do so far. Perhaps the most important of these is the question of disarmament on the desirability of which

*U.N. Day Broadcast on 23rd October, 1960.

all nations are agreed, though the approach of individual nations differs. We must not lose patience, for disarmament is a major issue and on its successful tackling would rest the nations' hopes and the very existence of the United Nations.

We in India have full faith in the ideals which prompted the framers of the U.N. Charter in 1945, even though it may be found necessary to alter or amend that Charter so that it fits in better with the present day world conditions. Our faith in peaceful settlement of international disputes is unshakable and we believe that the United Nations is the foremost organisation capable of translating that ideal into practice. Whatever the view that member-nations may be taking of the various questions under discussion at present, it is the duty of each one of them to do all that is possible to strengthen this world organisation so as to make its working more and more effective and successful.

On this happy day which marks the foundation of the United Nations, I send my greetings to all member-nations and their peoples.

JAI HIND

IMPORTANCE OF DUTIES VIS-A-VIS RIGHTS OF INDIVIDUALS*

Mr. Governor, Mr. Chief Justice, Mr. Advocate-General, Members of the Bar, Ladies and Gentlemen—

I need hardly tell you how grateful I am for the honour which you have conferred upon me by admitting me as a member of the Bar here. I appreciate this honour all the more because I am conscious of the fact that for forty years I have been out of touch with the Bar altogether; and within this long period I am not conscious that I have done any particular service to the Bar or to any of you here in particular. But I am sure in the decision which you have taken to admit me as one of you, the principal consideration has been to show honour to the post which I hold and which I occupy at present, and it is nothing particular in me which has in any way induced you to confer this honour upon me. That is also one of the reasons why I easily accepted this honour.

You have been good enough to refer in the address which you have just delivered to the fact that we have adopted a democratic constitution for our country and that we are following the democratic way of life in conducting the administration of our country. It is a fact that I was associated with the drawing up of the Constitution, and if there are any faults or loopholes or drawbacks in it, I may be supposed to be more conscious of them than anybody else. I am not going to disclose any secret which is not perhaps already known to those who have followed the proceedings of the Vidhan Sabha that I was rather disappointed with one thing in our Constitution. I mentioned it at the time before the Constituent Assembly but they were not able to remedy it. You gentlemen, both members of the Bar and members of the Bench, are engaged from day to day, from hour to hour, in interpreting the laws which are prepared by our legislatures. The courts have the advantage of skilled lawyers to assist them in coming to decisions and the members of the Court themselves are highly trained and skilled people who are in a position to interpret the law and to give decisions correctly on facts and on Law as presented before them. Unfortunatley those who make the law are not possessed of any particular qualifications except this that they have been able to get the support of a large number of men, more or less equally ignorant (laughter). I pointed this out at the time when the Constitution was under consideration, but unfortunately we were not able to find any remedy for it for two

*Speech before the Bar Association, Allahabad, on 23rd October, 1960.

reasons. One reason was that it was difficult to lay down any conditions which a candidate for election to a legislature could be expected to fulfil. We looked for such guidance as we could get from the Constitutions of other countries, but we were not able to get any guidance in that line anywhere, and we ourselves were not able to find anything which would satisfy not only the members of the Constituent Assembly but the country at large, and particularly those who were likely to be candidates and those also perhaps who were to vote for them. It was therefore that we were not able to lay down any conditions there: But there was another reason also and that reason—you gentlemen of the Bar and members of the Bar can appreciate better—was we did not find any precedent for that kind of thing, and as in all matters of law and Constitution, we are guided very largely by precedents. We did not feel competent to take a new leaf and to introduce a new thing of our own in our Constitution, and the result is that our Constitution, like so many other Constitutions, does not lay down any particular qualification for those who are to be members of the Legislatures, who are entrusted the duty of framing the laws which skilled people have to interpret and which skilled people have to assist in interpreting.

I do not know the result. As yet it is difficult to say whether it has been satisfactory or not because our experience has been only of a short duration, and we have had only two General Elections in which people had had to stand as candidates and others had had to vote them to the legislatures. The work of the legislatures has been for the last ten or eleven years only, and it is difficult to say at this stage whether you can give any definite opinion the quality of the work of the members of legislatures. But my own feeling has still continued that it would have been better if we had introduced some qualifications for candidates to be elected to legislatures.

Another question which sometimes troubles me with regard not only to the Constitution but to law generally is also derived from the system which we have followed and which we are following even now. When we were engaged in our struggle for attaining independence, naturally we laid emphasis on the rights of the people and we did not much care for the duties which would devolve on them when they got independence. I think we have still the background of that continuing with us and we are even now more conscious of our rights than of our duties. Even in the courts and in the laws, what we lay down is not the duty but the right. Duty comes in only in a negative way as an infringement

of a right which should not be infringed. So duty comes in only in that round about way and it is emphasis on the right which is responsible for all the quarrels which are not only to be seen between individuals but also between nations today. It is the insistence upon what you have to get rather than insistence upon what you have to give: This has brought about all the presentday quarrels in our society and in political as well as other matters, and in other countries too. I sometimes wonder if in India where in the past we laid more emphasis on giving than on taking, more emphasis on duty than on right, we may not give a lead to other countries in this respect. But for that purpose we have to adopt it in our own life, and unless we do that in our own life, we cannot expect anybody else to follow us. Even in our own country we need this to be emphasized because everywhere you see everyone is clamouring for something which he has not got so that others may give it to him and he may not have to give to others in return and if he is to give anything, it is only by the way and is only a secondary consideration, primary consideration is the taking. I do not know how it will be possible to introduce that in our legal system because the whole of our legal system at the present moment is merely a definition of rights. Even our Constitution does not lay down any fundamental duties. It lays down only fundamental rights of individuals as if rights can exist by themselves without duties. My own idea is that if duties are fulfilled, the rights will take care of themselves. It is only duties which require enforcement and which should be given prominent position in our legal system as well as in our Constitution. But guided as we are by other Constitutions and by other modes of thought which we have taken from other countries, we have not been able to take that view and that is one of my regrets. I feel that some day someone will arise who will have a voice strong enough to raise this point and to make our people consider this aspect of our political and legal question.

There is hardly any department of our life where duty does not require to be reinforced. We see today any amount of indiscipline—I am not talking of indiscipline among students because this has been talked about often—I am talking about indiscipline generally and a general laxity in our way of doing things which arise from the fact that we do not fully realise the duty which we owe say if we are in service, to the employer; if we are doing something by way of trade, to the people with whom we have commerce dealings; and in that way, in every walk of life and department of life, there is such an amount of laxity which we notice and such laxity—it is my own impression—is due very largely to an inadequate appreciation of our sense of duty to others.

I am therefore conscious of this one other defect in our Constitution, that it lays so much emphasis on our rights—may be fundamental rights—and hardly anything specifically said about the duties which we owe to one another. Even in such a matter which is so obvious as the defence of the country, there is no duty cast on anyone in so many words anywhere in the Constitution. Another obvious thing like even peace—It is not the duty that is cast, but the right of the Government which has to enforce to see that peace is not disturbed. The duty of the ordinary citizen, of the man in the street, it is not stressed; but if that were done, I think probably much of the effort that is done for enforcing right will take a different shape which may not be very much minimized.

I thought speaking before a body of lawyers—I did not know what to say specially on an occasion like this—I might draw your attention to these one or two thoughts which struck me when I was coming here, and I have taken the liberty of mentioning them to you. As I said, I do not know how to thank you for the honour which you have done me, which I appreciate very much. Thank you.

(Ends)

U.N. DAY CELEBRATIONS*

I feel happy to have come here in response to the invitation of the U.N. Day Committee of the Ministry of External Affairs. Although I have had occasion to say something about the United Nations the other day, this opportunity is no less welcome to me, for I feel today like saying a few words with special reference to India's role in that organization. From the very beginning of our becoming a member of the U.N. after independence we have lent unstinted support to it and have repeatedly expressed our faith in the principles incorporated in the U.N. Charter. In these principles, based on avoidance of violence and aggression and the need to settle international disputes by negotiations, many of us find an echo of our own thoughts and convictions. Therefore, our support to U.N. has flowed not only from formal obligations of membership of this organization but also from our traditional thinking and well-settled convictions.

Whether on account of our pursuing a course in keeping with our policy of non-alignment or may be because on certain crucial matters we have been able to put our weight on the side of smaller and comparatively backward nations of Asia and Africa, our counsels in the United Nations have generally attracted world attention and also some respect. This is, indeed, gratifying, though, I know too well, that for any nation, particularly one which is not aligned to either of the two major power blocs, the task of conducting itself in the United Nations is as difficult as it is delicate and may sometimes even appear to be thankless. On the whole, however, we have given a good account of ourselves, which in ultimate analysis is the vindication of our foreign policy and the stand of our Prime Minister.

In a world forum like the U.N. where about a hundred nations are represented and to which all manner of complicated issues are referred, it is not unnatural that there should be divergence of views. What is desired is that this divergence, whether it stems from self-interest or from ideological differences, should be adjusted through negotiations with the larger interests of the family of nations. Just as in an ordinary family or in a group of people one's own interest has to be subordinated to certain extraneous considerations, similarly a nation's self-interest may have to be co-related with several other factors, the most important of which is, of course, the common good of the people of the world.

*Speech at U.N. day Celebrations Organized by U.N. day committee of the E.A. Ministry at Sapru House, New Delhi, on October 24, 1960.

It is essentially a question of developing a certain outlook. In theory world-outlook was developed by thinkers and seers in the past. At least in our country such a view is known to have been expressed long ago as is evident from this well-known Sanskrit sloka:—

अयं निजः परोवेति गणना लघुचेतसाम्
उदार चरितानां तु वसुधैव कुटुम्बकम्

("This is mine and this belongs to others; this is the way of thinking of small minds. For the large-hearted the whole world is like one family".)

Now is the time to give a practical demonstration of this spirit, for never before were the nations of the world in such close contact, physical and political, as today. Never before in human history were the peoples of various countries so much interlinked and interdependent as they are today. Physical distance can no longer separate them; economic isolation has become a myth. Division based on differences of ideology or mode of thinking is becoming more and more untenable every day. The universal desire of human survival in the face of deadly weapons of destruction and the common interest for progress and development are strong enough links to bind the nations of the world together despite differences of outlook and divergence in the mode of living and thinking.

It is the United Nations which seeks to foster and encourage this line of thought, and from our short experience of 15 years we have learned that to refer all disputes to the U.N. is the best that the world can do, whatever the shortcomings or limitations of this organizations. It is for member-nations to remove these shortcomings and, as far as possible, to make it a perfect instrument of international amity and human welfare. These are the underlying ideas which I believe should prompt all nations in their appraisal of the United Nations and its work. As far as I can see, our representatives in the U.N. have ever kept this ideal before them. On the occasion of the U.N. Day which we are celebrating today, we should once again refresh our minds with the principles embodied in the U.N. Charter and the ideals of harmony, tolerance and amity which form its basis.

OPENING OF AZAD BHAWAN*

It gives me great pleasure and personal satisfaction to be present here today on Dr. Humayun Kabir's kind invitation to open this new building, the Azad Bhavan, which is going to house the headquarters of the Indian Council of Cultural Affairs. Exactly two years ago I was privileged to lay the foundation-stone of this building and to see the blueprint turned into a beautiful building in brick and mortar naturally brings with it a feeling of deep self-satisfaction. In this respect the Indian Council of Cultural Affairs has been as lucky as it has been active. The new premises, built according to specifications and providing all reasonable amenities, are bound to work as an impetus to the workers and office-bearers of the Council in the execution of their various plans and formulating new ones for furthering its aims and objectives. Let me on this occasion compliment Dr. Humayun Kabir who is the President of the Council and his other colleagues on the success which has attended their efforts in all spheres, including that of acquiring suitable premises for themselves.

While laying the foundation-stone of this building two years ago I said something about the importance of what have come to be known as cultural relations among nations of the world. While political, diplomatic and economic relationship among nations has an importance of its own, the plane to which these relations belong is somewhat different from the plane of cultural relationship. They however act and react on one another and make impacts of somewhat different characters on the people. Politics and economics are an integral part of present-day life, national and international, but, generally speaking they are governed by certain clear-cut interests and are mainly guided by reason or plain logic. Culture and cultural relationship, on the other hand, belong more to the realm of the heart or mind and as such they have a basis in human emotions.

Obviously the two wings of human activity are inter-related and supplementary to each other. But, I am afraid, under various pressures to which society is subject, it is the political and economic affairs which claim and get priority and matters which may be called cultural are ever in danger of being elbowed out. It is so not necessarily because leaders of nations are averse to cultural activities, but mainly because the concept of culture is not so concrete or tangible as matters political and economic. Besides,

*Speech on the occasion of opening the Azad Bhavan at New Delhi on November 11, 1960.

cultural development calls for an atmosphere of peace and comparative freedom from fear in order to strike roots and grow naturally. Unfortunately such an atmosphere and this kind of freedom are not always available even in the modern world in spite of man's intellectual development and the great strides that he has made in science and technology.

It is thoughts like these which will give due place to cultural activity. There is nothing mystic or mysterious about cultural activities in spite of their moral and spiritual background, because, as your Council's programme itself shows, cultural activities manifests itself through concrete programmes. It is only the attitude and the emphasis which matter. It is an attitude which brings human considerations and the concept of human brotherhood more prominently into play. And it is this relationship of man with man which projects itself into goodwill and friendship among nations.

The small beginnings which a cultural organization like yours makes have incredible potentialities. Because they deal with fundamental ideas and basic human qualities, the texture which they weave through their work and the ideals which they commend and emphasize provide the cementing force binding men and nations together. The process may be slow and sometimes even invisible, but we know from our own experience and from human history that it is essentially constructive and seldom fails to achieve its end, which is to bring people closer through understanding and goodwill. I may add that its effects are also lasting and can and do survive political revolutions.

Having said all this, I need not dilate upon the importance of the role the Indian Council of Cultural Affairs must play in our development programmes. We owe it to ourselves, our ancestors and the generations gone by and, in fact, to the whole world to project ourselves to others and let others project themselves to us so that other nations may see us from close and know us and we may see and know them better. Knowing is the most important part in the process of understanding. With the development of faster means of communications and the dawn of a new era of international co-operation, the need to understand one another is all the greater. To foster these aims one can hardly do better than what your Council is proposing to undertake. Creating chairs in foreign countries for the study of Indian thought and culture, providing facilities to students from overseas so that they feel homely in our midst and disseminate

the views of world's prominent thinkers is the best a cultural organisation can do. By your activities, you will not only be rendering a service to your own country but also encouraging the forces of amity and goodwill in the world.

Let me hope the efforts of the Indian Council of Cultural Affairs to bring other nations closer to India through cultural contacts bear fruit. I also hope that the Council will be able to expand its activities and make its programme of work more effective. I wish the Indian Council of Cultural Affairs godspeed and have pleasure in opening the new building, which, I am glad to say, bears the name of one who was not only an illustrious patriot and thinker but also an embodiment of culture and human qualities which comprise it. It is but meet and proper that the Azad Bhavan should become a centre from which we shall be able to derive inspiration and keep alive the memory of Maulana Abul Kalam Azad, the humanist, philosopher, litterateur, and above all, the patriot that we had in him.

POWERS & FUNCTIONS OF PRESIDENT OF INDIA*

Just nearly three years ago I had the pleasure and the privilege to formally inaugurate the academic work of the Indian Law Institute and today I am here to lay the foundation-stone of the building in which the Institute will be housed. The President of the Institute who is no other than the Chief Justice of India has explained to us the progress that the Institute has made and the work that it has accomplished within this period. We are all much pleased and interested to know the success so far attained and we look forward to further and greater success and achievement in the future. It is a matter of congratulation that the Institute has been able to enlist the co-operation of many lawyers whether practitioners, judges or jurists in its work and that encourages the hope that its future will be as fruitful as the past has been. I need hardly express on your behalf as well as mine the gratefulness of the Institute to the Government for the piece of land it has allotted and the grant of 5 lakhs of rupees which it has made for the building of the Institute. It is indicative of the measure of the interest the Government takes in the Institute and its activities and the Institute may well count on such support as it may need from the Government in the future.

It is essential that an Institute like the Indian Law Institute should have a house of its own. It was undoubtedly comfortably located in rooms generously allotted by the Supreme Court for the purpose but the need for independent premises of its own was always felt and it is only in the fitness of things that that need should be fulfilled and a suitable house well-furnished and well-equipped with a library and other things necessary for such an Institute be provided.

This is perhaps the third occasion when I have been given the privilege of addressing the Institute. As you have permitted me on previous occasions to speak on some matter or other connected with your activities, I may take the liberty of putting forward a suggestion for study and investigation by the Institute.

Our Constitution is a comparatively new constitution. It is based largely on the model of the British Constitution. As such it has a history if not an ancestry which may well go back to centuries. It is being worked, I venture to presume, successfully and to the satisfaction of all concerned although within the short

*Speech while laying the Foundation-Stone of the Indian Law Institute at New Delhi on 28th November, 1960.

period of 10 years it has had to undergo no less than 7 amendments. As I have stated, the Constitution is very largely founded on the British Constitution. There are certain differences which are obvious. The British Constitution is a unitary constitution in which the Parliament is supreme, having no other authority sharing its power of legislation except such as may be delegated. Our Constitution is a federal constitution in which the powers and functions of the Union Parliament and the State Legislatures are clearly defined and the one has no power or right to encroach upon the rights and powers reserved to the other. The Head of the State in the British Constitution is a Monarch and the Crown descends according to the rules of heredity. In India the Head of the State is an elected President who holds office for a term and can be removed for misconduct in accordance with the procedure laid down in the Constitution. It is generally believed that like the Sovereign of Great Britain the President of India is also a constitutional head and has to act according to the advice of his Council of Ministers. The executive power of the Union is vested in the President and shall be exercised by him either directly or through officers subordinate to him in accordance with the Constitution. The Supreme Command of the Defence forces of the Union is also vested in him and the exercise thereof shall be regulated by law. There are in the Articles of the Constitution many provisions which lay down specific duties and functions of the President. The question which I should like to be studied and investigated is the extent to which and the matters in respect of which, if any, the powers and functions of the President differ from those of the Sovereign of Great Britain. Further it may also be considered if the procedure by which the President is elected and is liable to be removed or impeached introduces any difference, constitutionally speaking, between the President and the British Monarch. Generally what are the points in respect of which the powers and functions of the two are the same and what are the points if any and the extent to which they differ? In this connection it may be pointed out that there is no provision in the Constitution which in so many words lays down that the President shall be bound to act in accordance with the advice of his Council of Ministers. The relation between the President and his Ministers is laid down in Articles 74 and 75. Article 74 lays down that there shall be a Council of Ministers with the Prime Minister at the head to aid and advise the President in the exercise of his functions. The question whether any, and if so what, advice was tendered by Ministers to the President shall not be inquired into in any court. Article 75 lays down that the Prime Minister shall be appointed

by the President and the other Ministers shall be appointed by the President on the advice of the Prime Minister. The Ministers shall hold office during the pleasure of the President and the Council of Ministers shall be collectively responsible to the House of the People. Other provisions may be said to be subsidiary or ancillary to these provisions. The question which has to be investigated is how far these and other provisions go towards making the functions and powers of the President identical with those of the Monarch of Great Britain.

In this connection a wider question of much import is how far we are entitled to invoke and incorporate into our written Constitution by interpretation the conventions of the British Constitution which is an unwritten constitution. All this will necessarily involve a consideration of the question how far the words and expressions used in our Constitution shall be treated as words and expressions of art which have a meaning attached to them which is fixed and which is not necessarily the literal meaning of those expressions. This is necessary in view of the fact that our conditions and problems are not on par with the British and it may not be desirable to treat our selves as strictly bound by the interpretations which have been given from time to time to expressions in England. We have got used to relying on precedents of England to such an extent that it seems almost sacrilegious to have a different interpretation even if our conditions and circumstances might seem to require a different interpretation. I do not think it is necessary for me to formulate the problem precisely or in definite terms. I hope I have given an indication of the questions which I have in my mind and I leave it to the Institute to define more precisely the scope of the investigation so that more or less precise answers may be formulated. I may add that in making this suggestion I do not have any particular question in view much less any incident. I put forward this subject purely as a subject of study and investigation in a scientific manner so that we may know exactly what the scope of the powers and functions of the President is.

I can only hope that I have not transgressed on your patience or exceeded the limits of my functions here this afternoon to which you have so kindly invited me. I need hardly assure you that I value my contacts with you and I am deeply conscious of the honour you have done me.

WELCOME TO THE CROWN PRINCE & PRINCESS OF JAPAN*

On behalf of my people and my Government it gives me great pleasure to extend to your Imperial Highnesses a warm and cordial welcome to the capital city of India. Your visit is a most auspicious and significant event in the history of Indo-Japanese relations. You have already visited two of our leading cities, Calcutta and Bombay, and must have sensed the friendly feelings and goodwill that we in India have for you and your great country. You are no stranger to us, for the people of India have followed your career with keen interest for many years.

It was only two years ago that I was privileged to visit your beautiful country and I came away overwhelmed by the kindness and affection shown to me everywhere. It is my fervent wish that in the course of your brief visit here you will see something of our art and culture as well as of the efforts being made to improve the standards of our people. We are encouraged in our efforts by the example of your country and also by your assistance and co-operation.

There is much in common between our peoples and our countries and I feel sure that your present visit will serve to bring us yet closer together in spirit and in endeavour towards our common ideal of world peace. Allow me once again, Your Imperial Highnesses, to extend to you a most hearty welcome.

*Speech welcoming their Imperial Highnesses the crown prince and princess of Japan at Palam Airport on November 29, 1960.

JAPAN'S DEVELOPMENT, A SOURCE OF INSPIRATION FOR ASIAN COUNTRIES*

Your Imperial Highnesses, Excellencies and Distinguished Guests,—

May I on behalf of the people and the Government of India extend to Your Imperial Highnesses once again a most hearty welcome to our country. We welcome you as the personal representative of His Imperial Majesty and also as the shining symbol of the new era in Japan. We have been looking forward to your visit for some time, and as I said earlier in the day, it signifies an important stage in the history of Indo-Japanese relations.

For me who had the privilege of visiting your country some two years ago, this occasion brings back cherished memories of a great and beautiful country and a charming and dynamic people. I returned to India with the lasting impression that the bonds that link us will grow stronger as time passes, for our ideals are the same and spring from the same ancient traditions. The visit of Your Imperial Highnesses will reinforce these ties of understanding and mutual regard and strengthen our efforts for the establishment of lasting peace in the world.

To us in India, Japan is a striking example of a rapidly changing society in which traditional patterns are gracefully adapting themselves to modern requirements. Your country's attempt to preserve and maintain a balance between the old and the new, the rising tempo of your economic development that affects all levels of society and your rapid recovery from the tragedy of war are surely sources of inspiration for other Asian countries.

There is undoubtedly a great deal that we can learn and benefit from the experience and example of your country. We in India are engaged in a vast and stupendous effort to raise the standards of living of our people against great odds. In the context of this prodigious task we greatly value the co-operation and assistance we have received from the people and Government of Japan.

May I request Your Imperial Highnesses to take back with you a message of affection, friendship and goodwill from the people of India to His Imperial Majesty and the people of Japan.

*Speech at the Banquet in honour of Their Imperial Highnesses the Crown Prince and Princess of Japan on November 29, 1960.

Your Excellencies, Ladies and Gentlemen, may I ask you now to join me in drinking a toast to the health of His Imperial Majesty the Emperor of Japan and Their Imperial Highnesses the Crown Prince and Princess of Japan, and to the happiness and prosperity of the people of Japan.

FRIENDSHIP, CO-OPERATION & MUTUAL UNDER- STANDING: COMMON IDEALS OF JAPAN & INDIA*

Your Imperial Highnesses, Excellencies and Distinguished Guests,

May I thank Your Imperial Highness for the generosity of the remarks that you have made about my country and about me. It has been our pleasure and privilege to have Your Imperial Highnesses among us and I would assure you that during your short visit you have both won our hearts with your great charm and courtesy and the keen interest you have so kindly evinced in our country. You will leave with us memories that will endure and firmly cement the bonds of friendship that exist between our two countries.

We are happy that, in the limited time available to you, you have been able to see something of the composite picture of India and of the strenuous efforts of the people and the Government of India to improve living conditions and to maintain peace and friendly relations with all countries. Like you people, we too are dedicated to the belief that human progress and happiness are indivisible and can be attained only by the common efforts of all nations to live together in friendship, cooperation and mutual understanding. We are also convinced that the field of cooperation between our two countries is ever widening and our efforts will be directed not only towards our mutual good but also to the common good of humanity.

Now Excellencies, Ladies and Gentlemen, may I ask you to join me in drinking a toast for the health of His Imperial Majesty, Their Imperial Highnesses and for the prosperity of the people of Japan.

*Reply to the speech made by H.I.H. the Crown Prince of Japan at the Banquet given by him in honour of the President of India on December 2, 1960.

INAUGURATION OF BHARATI SANGAM*

One cannot but welcome the coming into being of Bharati Sangam after one has read its rules and regulations and the Memorandum of Association. Its conveners are experienced public men and writers and its objects are both lofty and desirable. Therefore, when I was asked to inaugurate this organisation, I agreed to do so with pleasure, for associating myself with such a body is not only a matter of duty but also of pleasure for me. Bharati Sangam is going to be an organisation of writers and litterateurs of all the Indian languages and it seeks to encourage Indian culture and high traditions through these language and their literature. For achieving this objective language or literature offers a medium which is both easy and natural. Thoughts and ideas spread through language bringing about awakening, from which emerge sympathy and harmony. Words are thus messengers of our innermost views and aspirations and it is through them alone that understanding and mutual appreciation are possible. Writers and thinkers can make a special contribution towards achieving this end since their writings influence the common people.

Material prosperity by itself can never lay the foundation of a nation's progress. Material resources no doubt are of great importance, but if the prosperity which flows from them has to yield happiness and make way for human welfare, it must be supported by corresponding emotional and spiritual progress. Such a development is necessary not only in the interest of the individual but also of the society. That is why emotional integration of the various sections of society is essential for the progress of a nation. In respect of population India is a large country in which live people speaking different languages, following different faiths and observing different customs and traditions. For historical, cultural and geographical reasons people of the entire land have always been imbued with a sense of unity. To strengthen this feeling of unity and accomplish emotional integration of the people by encouraging the right kind of trends is a task too great to be left to mere chance. To accomplish it we must work according to a well thought out plan.

I am at one with the views of the founders of the Bharati Sangam that by bringing the various Indian languages and their literature closer to one another we can create an atmosphere of goodwill and national unity. Such a venture would be by no

*Speech while inaugurating Bharati Sangam at Rashtrapati Bhavan on Saturday, December 3, 1960.

means novel for us, for such efforts have been made in our history from time to time for strengthening the bonds of unity. For centuries Sanskrit provided us with the basis which gave us unity in diversity. Then came a time in the middle ages when the various Indian languages sprouted, clearing the way for *bhakti* (devotion) and strengthening the feeling of unity. I think we have got another similar opportunity in free India. Today the emergence of a common Indian language has the same importance for us as the development of the various regional languages. These languages and their literatures occupy an important place in the country's life. It is of the utmost importance for the all-round progress of India that all these languages prosper. I am glad that we have organisations like Bharati Sangam wedded to this ideal. We can regulate people's thought and ideas only through cultural and literary activities. In order to be effective the basis of such an effort can be socio-cultural and not political. I am sure your organisation will bear this fact in mind.

I am happy that the Bharati Sangam has laid emphasis on the purity of both ends and means. Unless the means are clean and morally justifiable, the end is never likely to be of lasting value. This is the basic principle of Ethics. Therefore, equal emphasis on the purity of ends and means amounts to laying the foundation of favourable atmosphere. We shall have to keep another thing in view. This is not an undertaking in which one may expect fame or glamour of any kind. I would, therefore, like that even if you have to make an humble start, you must exercise care and circumspection in enrolling members and workers for Bharati Sangam.

Let me hope the seed which you are sowing today will sprout one day and grow into a huge tree providing life giving shade to our cultural life. Just as a mango tree on which various types of mango saplings have been transplanted yields different fruits, the Bharati Sangam's efforts can lead to the development of different languages for the benefit of the country through common literary effort. I offer my best wishes for the success of the Bharati Sangam and have pleasure in inaugurating it.

DELHI MILK SCHEME*

It is a happy occasion and for me a matter of great personal satisfaction to have been asked to inaugurate the Delhi Milk Scheme at the Central Dairy here. I have always felt that just as agriculture has to be the basis of our economy, the dairy industry or the uplift of milch cattle must be looked upon as the basis of the country's agriculture. But in actual fact the dairy industry has acquired a far greater import, for its development is of equal consequence for our non-agricultural urban areas. The supply of fresh and pure milk and milk products finds today a prominent place in the list of civic amenities which the city dwellers are getting accustomed to expect from Administration. Seeing the food and nutritional value of milk, it is a welcome trend which deserves to be encouraged. It is equally true that the only way to encourage it is to organise the dairy industry in bigger towns on a proper footing so that the distribution of milk and its products can be rationalised.

I am glad to say that the Union Ministry of Food and Agriculture as also the Planning Commission have given full thought to this question and have already launched milk supply schemes in as many as 13 large towns, Delhi being one of them. The first experiment in this sphere was made in Bombay, which has been acclaimed by everyone as a remarkable success. We can hope now that other bigger towns in which the milk scheme is already in operation will be having the same facilities in respect of the supply of milk.

Behind all these modern dairy plants there is a deeper objective than the service to the City population. We are anxious that production in the villages goes up and the farmer obtains a proper price. The milk schemes provide an assured market. It should, however, be remembered that in our laudable effort to assure a supply of good milk to townspeople we do not milk the areas concerned so dry as to deprive the rural population of its nutritive food, which is as necessary for the city people as for our rural population. The farmer has, however, small farms. It is, therefore, essential if he is not to be exploited, that he forms co-operatives. A network of rural co-operatives responsible for producing, distributing and transporting of milk to the urban areas will be one of the main keys to rural prosperity.

In order to give all possible encouragement to cattle development, Shri Patil with his characteristic vigour has reorganized

*Inaugural speech at the Delhi Milk Scheme on December 6, 1960.

the Central Council of Gosamvardhana. Shri Dhebarbhai has been good enough to accept the Presidentship of the Council. The scope of its activities has been expanded and it has become largely non-official in character. In this connection I would suggest that milk supply can be increased to the desired extent only if the breed is improved and that is essentially the work of Gosamvardhana organisation. That organisation could do no better than drawing upon the ideas and experience of Mahatma Gandhi who was clear in his mind that in India the only kind of breed that can really be serviceable and successful is a double-purpose breed. It means that the bullocks born of the cow should be strong enough to do the various kinds of work our bullocks are required to do, and the she-calves are capable of giving milk good in quality and satisfactory in quantity. Unless the bullocks are also of good quality they will be a burden on society which it will not be able to bear. In other countries good milk without good quality of calves can serve the purpose because the he-calves themselves are used for food. In India that is not possible nor desirable; therefore, the attraction is to have good bullocks which can be otherwise utilized. I have no doubt the organisation is alive to this problem. It should not be forgotten that ultimately it is on the farmer that we have to rely for increased production. He must run his own institutions—co-operatives, Panchayats and the like. Government agencies should be there to provide him help by way of credit and technical services. The responsibility must be his. His initiative should not be curbed and he should be given every possible encouragement to better his lot.

In the Delhi Milk Scheme a beginning has been made to give loans liberally. At present a provision of Rs. 1 crore exists to be spent for purchase of cattle by primary producers. Similar provisions will no doubt be available in other areas. There is thus going to be no dearth of funds but what is required is a vast organizational effort. We look forward to the Central Council of Gosamvardhana as recently constituted to give a fillip to the work in the dairy tracts, for example in Rajasthan, Punjab, Uttar Pradesh and Gujarat.

We have been generously assisted from abroad. Besides the aid given by New Zealand, which although a small country by way of population—its population is about 20 lakhs, the same as that of Delhi—yet most advanced in the field of dairies, we have been fortunate to receive aid from Australia, U.S.A., U.K. Canada, Denmark and Holland. The international bodies under

the Colombo Plan, UNICEF and FAO have also assisted us in various ways by way of supply of plant, financial assistance, technical know-how and training facilities for our personnel. All this inter-dependence shows how integrated development has become. In our own small way we are also doing our bit for the warm countries. I am glad that a training course for dairying personnel of the Far Eastern countries has been recently organized at Aarey, Bombay.

All this goes to show that the conditions for agricultural development are now favourable. Since the days when I was associated with the Ministry of Food and Agriculture, we have made considerable advance. I am particularly happy that we have taken a broad view of agricultural operations, in which considerable importance has been assigned to cattle-breeding and the dairy industry.

The Delhi Milk Scheme has all those features which characterise such a project in all modern countries, and which are also the features of the Bombay Milk Scheme. Let me hope that the Delhi Milk Scheme, which may be said to have made a successful beginning, will continue to progress. Every Delhi citizen should be able to get his supply of milk from the Scheme and I hope that the present requirement of 7,000 maunds per day will be achieved without the least avoidable delay. For Delhi which has been constantly expanding in all directions and in a rather unpredictable manner, this scheme should be doubly welcome, not only because milk has to be supplied to the ever-increasing population but also because the danger of slums springing up as a result of unhygienic conditions prevailing in mushroom dairies has to be fought. I have no doubt that fully considerate as the Government is about the interests of all sections of people, public co-operation for the working of the scheme would be available.

I must record my appreciation of the speed with which this Dairy has come into existence as a result of close co-operation between the various Ministries concerned. This is a model of what team work can achieve. Let me hope other ventures will also have similar success in various parts of the country.

I have great pleasure in inaugurating the Delhi Milk Scheme.

ANNIVERSARY OF DALY COLLEGE, INDORE*

I am very happy to be present here today to participate in the 75th anniversary of the Daly College. From our present-day standards 75 years is a considerable period in the life of an educational institution; and as the Principal was reading out his report and narrating some of the events connected with the foundation and subsequent developments of this institution, I felt as if we were surveying a part of India's past history. The speed with which time has flown bringing about rapid and monumental changes in the social and political structure of India, tends to make the happenings of the closing years of the 19th century look like ancient history.

The fact that this college has passed through all those changes and been a witness to the cavalcade of history as it were, must be filling you all with a sense of pride. Another fact, namely, that you have not only witnessed those changes but have been successfully adapting yourselves to them, must, I am sure, be inspiring you with a sense of achievement. Public institutions, like human beings, have small beginnings, but such of them as keep abreast of the times and, not resting on their oars, do not allow changes, howsoever abrupt, to overtake them, live up to mature old age. They gather a kind of lustre and the halo of tradition—qualities which besides imparting education also serve to inspire society. This particularly holds good of seats of learning and educational institutions like yours. I, for one, do feel inspired when I visit such places.

Going again by the story of the development of your college, I cannot help posing a few questions to myself and also to my audience. There is no doubt that the great forces of resurgence which freedom of the country has released have put a heavy burden on our schools and colleges, in fact on the whole system of education. That there is universal enthusiasm to acquire knowledge and benefit from the available educational facilities is undeniable. What cannot be said with the same force is how far this popular urge is being canalized profitably for the individual and the Nation. Only a bold man can say that the facilities we have so far been able to provide are enough to cope with the demand or that the measure in which the demand for education has been met is quite as ample as we could manage within our resources.

*Speech at the 75th Anniversary of the Daly College, Indore on December 8, 1960.

I do not mean to discourage education whatever it form or scope. All that I want to suggest is that passing as we are through a period of national reconstruction, we must make sure that we equip our boys and girls not merely for the stage of transition but for the future that lies beyond it. In other words, we have a crop of new problems which call for new adjustments in the light of new requirements. Any system of education which does not take these factors into account and which is not based on the integrated picture of the future, is bound to involve some wastage of human and material resources.

I have merely posed this question without having a ready answer to it myself. I am often prompted to do so by signs of social malaise in our body-politic, which manifest themselves in the shape of unemployment among the educated and indiscipline among students. It is a matter which calls for our most earnest consideration. Experienced educationists and public leaders are already applying themselves to it. Let us hope as a result of these efforts we shall be able to remedy whatever defects there may be in the present system and evolve an integrated system in which every deserving student gets a fair opportunity of developing his faculties and in which, through selection and elimination, wastage and duplication can be avoided. In short, the Nation needs a system of education which may maintain the qualitative standards but at the same time meet the quantitative needs of the people. Howsoever good and unexceptionable the education of the restricted few may be, nothing that retards our goal of universal literacy can be acceptable to the country.

In your speech you have referred, Mr. Principal, to the good work and increasing popularity of the public schools in India. I would like to endorse those remarks, but I must also say that these schools, even if their number were to be doubled or trebled, would not touch the fringe of our educational problem. It is a problem of great magnitude and we must see it in the right perspective. While we have to welcome the institutions which provide special facilities for young scholars and inculcate in them the qualities of leadership, we cannot afford to forget that a large number of boys and girls in the country are still unable to have any schooling at all because the facilities for it are none too adequate. That is why now and then we hear of some criticism of the public school system. But I would not like to discourage the existing public schools if they can manage to maintain themselves on their existing resources. They cannot expect liberalisation of grants-in-aid in their favour when State

resources are so badly needed for the expansion of educational facilities in other areas. I am glad that there is no dearth of charitably disposed people in the country so that one could hope that these institutions would be able to survive the period of transition and continue to live and prosper on private help.

What I have said about the public schools does not detract from the valuable work they have been and are still doing. The history of the Daly College, Indore, and the services it has rendered in the cause of education in these parts are indeed meritorious. You have every reason to feel proud of the traditions of this institution. On this memorable occasion of the 75th anniversary of your college I would like to congratulate the Managing Body, the teachers and students of the Daly College and, with your permission, Mr. Principal, to partake of your happiness and rejoicings today.

RESEARCH IN THE TEXTILE INDUSTRY*

It gives me pleasure to associate myself with the Textile Research Institute in this pleasant manner as desired by Shri Krishnaraj Thackersey on behalf of the Bombay Textile Research Association. Textile is one of our oldest industries which can indeed lay claim to be one of the foremost avenues of employment and one of the major sources of foreign exchange earnings. It is not, however, only these factors which vest this industry with importance. India is a great cotton producing country and in respect of population it is second only to China in the world. Its teeming millions have to be clothed and the cotton produced here utilized for that purpose. Now, while it is a fact that khadi and handloom industry has also its share in utilising cotton and providing clothing for a large number of people and an enormously larger share in giving employment, the major role in the matter of supply undoubtedly belongs to the textile mills. I believe for about a century a part of the produce of these mills has always been exported to other countries so that our textiles have since long featured prominently among Indian exports.

Developments which followed in the wake of the last war, particularly the emergence of India as free nation, have given great lullip to Indian industry in general. Among the industries which have benefited most from these trends and from the rising consumption in the home market is the textile industry. Although the number of units of production has been steadily going up with corresponding rise in the output of total earnings, yet it was felt that with all its stability the textile industry in India had not reached a stage which may be said to be reasonably beyond the pale of stalemate. Changing needs and trends calling for constant adjustment in the nature and quality of cloth is one reason. Increasing competition from other textile manufacturers in the foreign market is probably another reason. It has, therefore, been felt that the challenge which these conditions pose should be met squarely and there is no other way of doing so except by conducting research. As the Chairman has said, in the face of phenomenal advances in science and technology the need for research is imperative. I am, therefore, happy that the Bombay textile mill-owners realised this fact and organized a special body for undertaking research in the textile industry. This Research Institute which the Association has been kind enough to ask me to open this afternoon will undertake research in the entire field of textile

*Speech at the opening of the Textile Research Institute at Ghazakopar (Bombay) on December 9, 1960.

technology, including engineering, operational methods, marketing and human relations. This kind of research is bound to be an expensive proposition which individual units cannot be expected to afford. It is, therefore, good that textile mills have agreed to pool their resources and launch a joint venture for their common benefit. Although, I am told, the Government is also keen to encourage and undertake research in textile industry, yet its scope is bound to be wide and general in nature so that while the textile industry may benefit from it in certain respects, it may not meet exactly the immediate requirements of the textile manufacturers. Besides, there are certain aspects of research which can be based only on actual experience of manufacturing, which the mills alone can undertake. Whatever, therefore, the Government may do in this field and what you propose to do in this institute will supplement each other's effort.

I am happy to note that the Bombay Textile Research Association have been able to enlist the support of a considerable number of manufacturing units and that it is now ready to implement its plans. The institute which you have built for the purpose is the measure of your earnestness. I have no doubt that the researches which are conducted here will benefit our textile industry, the manufacturers, the consumers and the country at large. The only precaution that will have to be taken is that the results of these researches are properly collated and communicated to all the manufacturers, big and small, so that they are implemented quickly and in their entirety. We are often up against the problem of disseminating the outcome of researches in the field of agriculture for the benefit of cultivators. But agriculture in our country is a much bigger undertaking and the tillers are scattered all over the land whereas the textile manufacturers are a compact body. They are resourceful and enlightened. Implementing in actual manufacture the result of laboratory research is not, therefore, likely to pose a problem for you.

I wish the textile industry of India good luck and hope that it would benefit from the work done in the Textile Research Institute. I have great pleasure now in declaring the Bombay Textile Research Institute open.

UNVEILING OF SHIVAJI'S PORTRAIT*

I feel honoured to have been asked to unveil the portrait of Shivaji Maharaj. As the Vice-Chancellor has been pleased to say, there is no doubt I have had several occasions of visiting Poona. And may I say that this frequency has not dulled my fondness for this beautiful town in which climatic charm and historic associations vie with each other for supremacy. In my younger days I had learnt to look upon this memorable city as a place of learning and the abode of great national leaders like Tilak and Gokhale. Happily Poona still retains that reputation.

I was glad to know of the progress that the University of Poona has made during the brief period of its existence. But it need cause no surprise to anyone, for Poona, as I said just now, has always had a tradition of learning and, thanks to the efforts of great patriotic leaders of Maharashtra, it has also had big educational institutions and Research institutes. Therefore, when the university got its charter, it had excellent material in the form of constituent colleges. Again, your university had the good luck of having experienced and devoted educationists like the late Dr. Jayakar and Dr. Pranjpye as Vice-Chancellors who guided the university during the time of its teething trouble. There is no wonder, therefore, if within the short space of a few years the Poona University has not only consolidated itself but made considerable advance in respect of teaching and research in all spheres of knowledge, an advance which even older universities in this country might envy. May I, on this occasion, offer my felicitations to the great builders and educationists who have been responsible for this achievement? May I also extend my good wishes to the alumni of the Poona University and commend to them the example of their leaders ?

Still more pleasant than paying my tribute to the University of Poona is the task that you have been pleased to assign me to-day, namely, unveiling the portrait of the great nation-builder, Chhatrapati Shivaji Maharaj. One would fain borrow choicest phrases and epithets from historians like Jadunath Sircar and Sardesai to be true to the work that I have undertaken at your bidding and to deserve the honour of unveiling the portrait of that great hero. From all accounts Shivaji was a great Indian who was imbued with the best traits that are supposed to constitute the Indian tradition. He was brave and chivalrous, magnanimous and tolerant, and, above all, a true leader of men and an

*Speech while unveiling the portrait of Shivaji Maharaj at the Poona University, Poona on December 12, 1960.

inspired patriot burning with zeal for freedom and endowed with talent and capacity to achieve it. Even though about three hundred years have elapsed since he flourished, the trail which he blazed still emits effulgent light, brightening not only paths but many a human heart. I have no hesitation in saying that the subsequent events in history, including the present phase, derived much from that tradition.

Therefore, I deem it a pleasure and a privilege to unveil this historic portrait.

SILVER JUBILEE OF THE M.E.S. GIRL'S HIGH SCHOOL, POONA*

In expressing my pleasure for being able to participate in the Silver Jubilee celebrations of the M.E.S. Girls' High School, I desire to compliment the people of Maharashtra on their having evolved a highly creditable technique for the spread of education in these parts. This technique consists in establishing popular associations or societies with the object of setting up of educational institutions. We have a few societies of this nature in other parts of the country also, but Maharashtra was probably the first region in India to think of them, and it is certainly the foremost to have perfected this pattern by giving it a wide trail and working it successfully. It is almost hundred years since the mould was cast, and with every success the practice has taken deeper roots. We have here, for example, the Deccan Education Society, the Maharashtra Education Society, the Shivaji Education Society and possibly others. To the last mentioned Society I shall have to refer tomorrow when I visit Karad in North Satara district.

What I like best in these societies is that all of them owe their origin to genuine popular support and the collaboration of the common people in the real sense of the term. To the best of my knowledge they owe their existence to contributions by way of voluntary help from a large number of people belonging to all walks of life. Though individually these contributions may not be large, but collectively, I should think they are, morally and socially speaking, of greater value than big donations, by a few individuals. Such help from the people purports to make the venture co-operative without the formalities of that description. Besides, it gives an opportunity to people of ordinary means to contribute to the development of such an essential service as education and this feeling has its own value.

The record of work of the Maharashtra Education Society is inspiring enough for anyone to agree with the observations I have made above. Your progress has been steady. Nevertheless the Society can claim to have done quite a bit not only for the spread of literacy but the growth of education among boys and girls in this part of the country. The Girls' High School which completes 25 years of its existence today may be said to symbolise the spirit which has been actuating the members of the Society and the actual progress made by this body. Starting with small beginnings, this school has grown into an institution which must count as big even

*Speech at the Silver Jubilee celebrations of the M.E.S. Girls' High School, Poona on 12th December, 1960.

in a large city like Poona. Today it has a little less than 25 hundred girls on its rolls.

Apart from the number of students who have benefited or are now benefiting from the activities of the Maharashtra Education Society, the quality of education imparted in the institutions run by the Society also deserves a mention. Befitting the atmosphere which such well-intentioned public ventures rarely fail to create, is the curriculum which your institutions observe. I am glad to say that within the permissible limits you have striven to inculcate among the boys and girls respect for Indian ideals and devotion for learning. May I offer my heart-felt felicitations to the Maharashtra Education Society and wish them many more years of national service for the glory of Maharashtra which is an integral part of India.

75TH ANNIVERSARY OF THE FERGUSSON COLLEGE, POONA*

I would like at the very outset to offer my congratulations to the Deccan Education Society on its manifold achievements in the field of education and on its principal child, the Fergusson College, attaining the age of 75. The Fergusson College was established at a time when the attitude of the Indian masses towards higher education of the western type was yet in a formative stage and when facilities for such education for the generality of the Indian students were inadequate. Apart from the colleges sponsored and run by Government and christian Missions there were few institutions imparting higher education managed by private or non-official bodies. The importance of the Deccan Education Society lay in the fact that a devoted band of workers came forward at such a crucial time with a determination to set up educational institutions to make the best of the western education under Indian conditions available to the people of this country. It was an enterprise which benefited the Nation without offending or alienating the then rulers of India. The Fergusson College is the foremost fruit of that effort.

Besides imparting education, humanistic and scientific, this college naturally bred and spread widely the very ideals and national aspirations which had ushered it into existence. The spirit of self-sacrifice and complete dedication in those who manned this institution made a deep impress not only in Poona or Maharashtra but in educational circles throughout the country. It is not given to many public institutions to retain the warmth and brightness of the original flame over a critical period of 7 or 8 decades as the Fergusson College has managed to retain. If anything, permit me to say, the devotion and sincerity of members of the Deccan Education Society and the staff of the College have only helped to feed the flame and make its light more effulgent. If today we find a number of privately organized educational societies—more—numerous in this State than in any other part of the country I ascribe it to the excellent beginning that was made in Maharashtra by the founders of the Deccan Education Society.

The actual record of the Fergusson College over these 75 years would corroborate in every detail what I have said just now. In the physical and quantitative sense the College has grown and

*Address at the Fergusson college on the occasion of its 75th anniversary, Poona on December 12, 1960.

expanded as much as its most optimistic well-wisher might have desired. In fact the tempo of development is so steady and unabating that it has begun to cause concern to the Society. As things stand at present, only respect for facts would impel one to describe it as a college; in actual fact it is—something like a university in itself. You have throughout—maintained a high standard of education and research so that the quantitative progress in your case has a corresponding aspect of quality. On this signal achievement may I felicitate the Principal and other members of the staff of this college?

What appeals to me most in the Fergusson College is the tradition of knowledge that it has succeeded in building up. Imparting good education in the various branches of arts and science is in itself creditable, but more creditable than this is to create a tradition which, representing the best and the highest in the sphere of education, prevades as it were the whole atmosphere. It is something abstract, yet no less abiding than the concrete. If imparting instruction and achieving examination results be likened to flowers, the tradition of learning and sacrifice is something like the fragrance which fills the air and cast its pleasant spell all over the place. Such a tradition is the hall-mark of a good institution, particularly one which draws sustenance from lofty ideals and owes allegiance to service of the people. The tradition which this great institution has built up is its most distinctive feature and I believe that the Deccan Education Society and the Fergusson College can feel legitimately proud of it.

I am at one with you, Mr. Principal, that the present boom in education brought about by the forces of nationalism and subsequent resurgence, has created good many complicated problems which educationists and our public leaders have got to grapple with. The very popularity of education and the ever-increasing demand for educational facilities have landed us into difficulties. I would refrain from expressing an opinion on these questions, the rush of students for admission, the need for greater resources and the spectre of falling standards in education. I feel that those who are actually in the field and who deal with these problems in practical life are better entitled to form an opinion and give their verdict on them. Suffice it to say for me that to throw the sponge would mean playing into the hands of the difficulty. It is inconceivable that earnest effort and devotion to the cause of education could fail to yield the right clue to solve these difficulties. Let us not forget that India is a large country with varying conditions and bewildering diversities. Nevertheless we can be sure that none

of these things can hold their own in the face of concerted effort and purposeful endeavours.

I am thankful to the Principal for his invitation to preside over this evening's function which marks the completion of 75 years in the life of the Fergusson College. It is my prayer that this institution may continue to progress and may win still greater laurels in future.

SILVER JUBILEE OF THE HINDU WOMEN'S RESCUE HOME SOCIETY, POONA*

I must confess to my sense of deep satisfaction on being present here on the occasion of the Silver Jubilee celebrations of the Hindu Women's Rescue Home Society. Many a thought crossed my mind as I went through the brief history of the Society supplied to me by the Hony. Secretary. In the first instance I have not been altogether unfamiliar with the—existence of this institution, its aim and objects and the success with which it has been working in this limited, though highly important, sphere. Seeing that this Society has grown from very small beginnings when it started its work in a small house with a few needy and stranded women as inmates, it will do a lot of good to any social worker or anyone interested in the uplift of society to see the present dimensions and capacity of the Society. Today it has more than 175 inmates, all of whom, it may be assumed, are usefully employed or otherwise busy making earnest efforts, to stand on their feet.

Creditable though the record of the Society is with regard to the number of women it has so far helped in dire distress, I would not like the success of an organization like this to be measured in terms of numbers. Giving voluntary succour to a—helpless person, specially a woman, indeed is a task so noble, and if you like, chivalrous that it transcends the bounds of lay—arithmetic. One cannot easily think of a call more urgent or a duty more sacred than salvaging a human soul. Your Society has carried on this work of great social significance for 25 years and has been responsible for rescuing no less than 2,700 helpless women. I must say that it amply justifies the objective with which the late Shri N. C. Kelkar, a great social reformer, founded it.

Another thought which occurs to me on this occasion is why this kind of social work is not taken up with the same enthusiasm everywhere else in the country. There is no doubt the Central Social Welfare Board and its branches have focused public attention on the uplift of women and children. The guidance and help which the Social Welfare Board renders should facilitate this kind of work, but I feel that this work really belongs to the non-official voluntary sphere. The auspices under which your Society had the good fortune of coming into being are to my mind ideal. Once the foundation is laid and a nucleus created, help from all quarters should be welcomed. Such rescue homes, in my opinion, should

*Speech at the Silver Jubilee Celebrations of the Hindu women's Rescue Home Society, Poona on 12th December, 1960.

be formed in every district, or if that is too much, there might be at least a few functioning in every State. That seems to be the most effective solution of the problem of saving women who, mostly for no fault of theirs, are in danger of swerving from the path of righteousness and moral behaviour. Indeed your—Society presents a model which I have no hesitation in commending to all social workers in the country.

You have greatly benefited from your own experience and such help as Government and other organisations have been pleased to give you. I am happy to know that the Society has now a building of its own and has come to acquire a status which has commanded ready recognition so that the State Government looks upon it as a suitable remand home for children and women. Service of this kind is a reward in itself. I would like to offer my personal congratulations to the organizers and workers of the Society on their selfless work and devotion to service of helpless women.

OPENING OF SHRI SHIVAJI EDUCATION SOCIETY'S SCIENCE COLLEGE AT KARAD*

I have been touring Maharashtra for the last five days and in the course of this tour of Poona, Kolaba and Satara Districts, I have visited quite a few educational institutions and come to know the work of about half a dozen privately managed educational societies which have been responsible for establishing a net work of educational institutions for all grades of instruction.

As I said yesterday in Poona, I am charmed by the pattern of educational activity sponsored by public men of the area concerned. Like other societies, the work of the Shri Shivaji Education Society is equally inspiring, owing its origin, as it does, to the efforts of the public spirited men of this area; among whom is included my friend, Shri Yeshwantrao Chavan, the Chief Minister of Maharashtra. This Society specializes in spreading the torch of knowledge in the countryside where such facilities have not been adequate or easily available so far. The success which the Shri Shivaji Education Society has achieved within the short space of 15 years, is indeed impressive. In addition to conducting six secondary and high schools, the society has also established the Science College, for in Karad, no facilities existed for scientific education so far.

The more I go into the details of the working of your society, the more I am convinced of the capacity of the people and what they can achieve with the help of their own modest resources. Satara is singularly lucky in having two such Education Societies functioning in this district, one in Karad and the other in Satara proper. To this latter one, I shall have occasion to refer a few hours later when I visit Satara. Between themselves these two Societies have provided educational facilities for thousands of boys and girls of the Middle and Lower Middle Class groups.

I am glad to know that the Shri Shivaji Education Society has not been deterred in its work by financial difficulties which have been surmounted by the help of the public, the Municipality and the Government. How much I wish that this example of constructive work, carried on in the most unobtrusive and selfless manner, could be extended to other spheres of activity like, for example, housing, small industries, agriculture etc. It appears to me that this kind of activity which is co-operative in the truest sense is the real answer to India's problem. I would suggest that such societies

*Speech on the occasion of the opening of Shri Shivaji Education Society's Science College at Karad on 14th December, 1960.

which come into the field of public service with certain specific objects, should be sponsored by leading public men in every region. If we could have such public bodies in every district, or say, at least a few in every State, I feel it will go a long way in galvanizing our public life. Apart from achieving something tangible in the field of reconstruction, it will give the much needed direction and a sense of purpose to our people. I need hardly say that this will also supplement the efforts of the Government in the sphere of Community Development and Agriculture Extension Services.

I congratulate the people of Satara District,—particularly of this area which is the venue of the work of Shri Shivaji Education Society. They have achieved creditable success, depending largely on their own resources and looking to effort as a reward in itself. I wish the Society to grow from strength to strength and pray that the College whose building you have been enough to ask me to open, will open up a new vista of learning and knowledge for the people of Karad and its vicinity.

AMRIT MAHOTSAVA CELEBRATIONS OF THE MORRIS COLLEGE, NAGPUR*

It is a pleasure for me to have been able to come here to participate in the Amrit Mahotsava celebrations of the Morris College, Nagpur. It is ten days that I left New Delhi and during this tour I have had the good fortune of visiting three universities and the famous Fergusson College of Poona and another college at Indore both of which, like your college, have also completed 75 years of their existence. During the past few days, therefore, I have had occasion to spend a good deal of my time in educational institutions and to devote such thought to the question of education at all stages as I could. I know that for some time past, specially since 1947, increasing stress has come to be laid on education as a result of which every school and college has had to face rush conditions. In Delhi a large number of educational institutions have double shifts to be able to cope with the rush of students, although I am told during the last ten years the number of schools in Delhi has doubled. I can well believe that conditions are more or less the same in centres of higher education elsewhere in the country.

This is all to the good. This is what may be termed in mathematical language horizontal growth. The question arises whether we can rest contented with this kind of growth which merely ensures that the requisite number of students would always be forthcoming to fill the rolls of a college, and which at best is an index of quantitative progress. Good in itself as this development is, it has to be turned into a stepping-stone for something better and higher. Need I suggest that we must concentrate now on vertical growth, that is to say, on consolidating the gains and making education more effective and its outcome deeper and far-reaching in the interest of the society. Such an undertaking in the very nature of things is arduous, but we are not altogether unfamiliar with it. The concept of education in our country has been very wide since time immemorial. The proof of it lies in the fact that *vidya* in ancient India was never looked upon merely as the capacity to write and read. It had a far wider connotation which went beyond the limits of literacy and enveloped several other spheres of activity connected with the citizens' or householders' every-day life. Acquiring of knowledge was only one aspect of education, the other aspect being development of human faculties to enable one to discharge one's triple obligations, namely,

*Speech at the Amrit Mahotsava Celebrations of the Morris College, Nagpur on December 18, 1960.

obligation to himself, to society and to God. An educated man was expected to cultivate personal virtues of piety, cleanliness, good conduct, etc. He was also expected to be a good citizen and do all that was possible towards the promotion of fellow-feeling, goodwill and harmony in his surroundings, by imbibing the qualities of sympathy, friendliness and co-operation. Thirdly he was also expected to be God-fearing and fulfil his obligation towards his Creator by developing a religious and spiritual outlook. In a way all these aspects of education were inter-connected. One could not be a good man without being a useful member of the society and without at the same time developing a detached view of things with an eye on self-realisation. It was thus an integrated view and provided the right background for education.

Howsoever old or traditional this view may be, I do not see how we can afford to ignore it even in modern conditions for that reason. To my mind this view of the ancients is based on a complete understanding of human nature. It is embedded in practice rather than mere theory. And then, we find support for this view in the thought of other countries. I do not know how far the development of ideas in various countries in olden days was the result of independent evolutionary processes or whether it was the result of mutual contacts and give and take, but the fact is that we find a good deal of parallelism of thought. The Greek view of education, for example, is not far different from our own definition of it. The principles of education and pedagogy as enunciated by Greek thinkers from Socrates down to Aristotle are characterised by the same breadth of vision and broadness of functions, covering the whole span of human life and its activities. The modern view of education is derived from Greek thought in no inconsiderable measure, and that is why we find much in common with our own theory of education and the basis of modern education, often called Christian or liberal education.

However, what I mean to suggest is that the influence of education must permeate human environments. An educational institution must cast forth its influence for the betterment of its surroundings. It must be a sort of microcosm representing all that is ideal and best. An institution which remains contented with merely producing lettered men and is not able to influence its surroundings cannot by any stretch of imagination be described as successful. The same criterion applies to every educated man as well. One who has had the benefit of good education is expected to be a live influence, improving everything he touches and uplifting the people he mixes with. Unless one develops these

qualities the impact of education on him will remain only partial or one-sided.

An institution like the Morris College which is celebrating its 75th anniversary must measure its success in the light of this criterion. If you did so, I am sure you will have nothing to fear, for I find from the brief history of the college supplied to me that this college has contributed largely not only in educating the people of these parts but also in creating a favourable climate for dispelling ignorance. The alumni of this college, and they are a large and distinguished group, have sought to do this directly. Let me hope on this memorable occasion, which you have happily called Amrit Mahotsava, every student and teacher of this college will imbibe this idea and go out in the wide world as a living force, as the standard-bearer of the forces of enlightenment and social as well as moral improvement.

Let us remember that every institution owes a debt to society just as every student has an obligation to his *alma mater*. They can repay this debt and discharge their responsibility only by diffusing widely the knowledge they have acquired for themselves. From practice and experience they will find that this is possible only if they become examples for others. This is what the Buddha meant by describing every educated person or one who had been initiated into the eight-fold path as a lamp, a *deepak* which must with its own *jyoti* light as many other lamps as possible. If those who are lucky enough to get the benefit of education, specially higher education, grasp this fundamental fact, they will be able to discharge their responsibility towards the society of which they are members. They will also be turning institutions like the Morris College into real centres of learning and enlightenment. It is my hope and prayer that this college may become in a still more real and wider sense than it is today the centre of hope and inspiration for those who come and study here and also for the people of this area at large.

COORG : A BEAUTY SPOT*

Your Highness, Mr. President of the Municipal Council of Coorg and friends,

It is the second occasion of my visit to this beautiful town of yours. Some 25 years ago I paid a short visit and stayed here for one night. I have been looking forward to a second visit with interest and I am happy that I have been able to fulfil that wish of mine and see you once again this afternoon.

It is a most beautiful and charming spot where you are and I have no doubt that it constitutes one of the beauty spots in the whole country. India is a very large country and it has got all kinds of climate, rainfall and so on and it has also got all kinds of religions, social customs, methods of living and fashion. Underneath and beneath all this diversity there has always been a binding and general unity which has constituted a most remarkable phenomenon in the whole history of our country. There have been many political revolutions in different parts of the country. There have been different rules at different times and the country has seen many revolutions of political nature. So far as social and cultural life is concerned, it has run through the same course throughout the long period and today we have added to this cultural unity political unity of the country also. Today we have got one Constitution under which the whole country is ruled. We have only one administration whose writ runs throughout the length and breadth of India of today. It is therefore natural that the very precious heritage that the people of this country has got should be prized and preserved.

Those of us who belong to somewhat older age know of the time when we had to struggle against foreign rule. Thank God, we have got out of the stage and we are all now equal citizens of a free country having the same Constitution which gives equal rights to all, men and women, rich and poor, so far as a share in the Government is concerned, and, therefore, it is that we are now in a better position than at any stage in the history of our country and we have made splendid and rapid progress towards prosperity.

There is no doubt that a certain amount of poverty is still persisting in the country, a certain amount of ignorance is still persisting in the country, also the health conditions are not as well as we desire them to be. We are trying our best through

*Reply to the address of welcome presented by the Coorg Municipality on the 20th December, 1960.

the various five year plans which the Government are implementing to raise the standard of living of the people at large and while we welcome these efforts to better the economic condition, we are also trying to better their character. It is for the people of the country at large to maintain and sustain the freedom which has been won with no little sacrifice and it is up to every son and daughter of the country to contribute his or her mite for the maintenance of that freedom and defence of the country against foreign aggression.

We also need to sustain and support the Government and its various projects and plans which are intended for raising the level of living and for giving us better health conditions, educational conditions and better monetary and economic position in the country.

Yours is a small area but although small in area, it is rich in tradition, a tradition which we all value and it is edifying to see in the present-day conditions how this small area has got warlike people who are always ready to defend the country whenever an occasion arises for it. You have also amongst you a people who are full of art and culture. Therefore it is that we look upon your city, small though it is, as an integral part of the country.

Well, nobody here need have any fear of being merged or submerged anywhere. It is only for the administrative convenience that Mysore and Coorg are one and by being so they can contribute to each other's prosperity and happiness and I have no doubt that you will make your own contribution to make the people of Mysore better and happier people. I do not know why there should be any kind of apprehension in your mind about the future. Your future is assured as is the future of the country as a whole.

We do believe that the country cannot progress unless each and every individual in it makes progress. It is in that hope and that sense that we cannot afford to be in any way aloof from each other. We have to be united as completely and solidly as we can to make the country progress. After all our freedom is a young plant. So is our democracy. Both these plants of freedom and democracy have to be tendered and nurtured and nurtured with our sweat and even blood if necessary so that they may grow and prosper and so that our children and our children's children may look back upon this period as an important period. It is an important period no doubt because after attaining freedom

we have got to see to it that every individual is a happier and more contented person and that is what we are trying and endeavouring to accomplish and this endeavour requires the support and co-operation of every man and woman in this country. I look upon each one of you as an important component of this vast country and each one of you can contribute to its prosperity and happiness. I therefore thank you all for the generous welcome which you have extended to me and I thank the Municipality also for the welcome which they have extended to me.

I am quite sure every thing will be provided in India as much as in any other country. His Highness the Maharaja is here and he has heard the address which has been read out by you in which a request has been made for constructing water works for this town. Your demand seems to be just and will fulfil one of the conditions of a modern town. I know that your town is going to become a sort of a tourists' centre and not only Indians from other parts of the country but also others from outside the country will come here just for the sake of beauty and charm of the place, for charm and beauty of the people of this place and will come to see its natural scenery of the mountains that surround your place. It is necessary that they should be provided with all facilities. I hope there will be no difficulty in meeting your demand.

I am happy I have been able to fulfil my wish to come here again and spend a short time here. I thank you for the very hospitable welcome you have extended to me.

PANCHAYAT RAJ IN MYSORE STATE*

I welcome the opportunity of saying a few words on the important question of Panchayat Rajya or democratic decentralization which has a close bearing on the welfare of the village community in India. As India has still largely a rural economy and about three-fourths of its population still lives in villages, rural welfare in our country really means national welfare. Though the concept of panchayats is as old as Indian polity, the old system has to be fitted into the framework of present-day requirements, which are not only complicated and too many but tend to multiply. The trend towards decentralization has been thought of, I take it, with a view to facilitating this process of adjustment and also making the working of Panchayat system more effective and efficient.

There can, therefore, be no doubt that it is a step in the right direction. We have already before us the examples of one or two States, notably Rajasthan, where this experiment has been launched and is presumably making headway.

I would like to say something as to why we attach importance to this measure. There is an impression that as a result of our development projects and manifold reconstruction plans, the improvement in the countryside has not been as marked as in the urban areas, although it is recognised that in the formulation and implementation of our reconstruction programme if the Government has shown any predisposition, it is in favour of the rural areas. This disparity between intentions and actual results is sought to be explained by the fact that all authority being concentrated in Ministers, the secretariat and a hierarchy of officials, the elements of delay and inaccessibility have affected the village organisations adversely. This criticism may or may not be justified but there can be no doubt that the only way to answer it is to decentralise certain functions, specially those which relate to the working and developing of the Panchayat system.

The three-tier organization as incorporated in your scheme for the establishment of Village Panchayats, Taluk Boards and District Development Councils is, on the face of it, unexceptionable. If worked in the spirit in which it has been thought of, it will vest power and responsibility for improving the villages in the elected representatives of villagers themselves. The first prerequisite of success of this scheme is proper co-ordination among

*Address on the occasion of the inauguration of Panchayat Rajya in Mysore State December 21, 1960.

its three elements. Of course, it goes without saying that elected members in every case must work in a spirit of service and each one of them must place the village before self. It appears to me that there are only two ways of ensuring smooth working of the units and co-ordination among them. The officials who are appointed to carry on the routine or administrative work will have to be something more than mere office hands. They must have tact and must be motivated by the strength of their own convictions and the spirit of service of the village community. Though probably they will have to be part and parcel of the official machinery, they must think that they owe allegiance to the village people also. Secondly, our legislators must play a prominent role in this process of decentralization. I am glad you have already stipulated their participation in it at various levels, but I should like that they are called upon to discharge a special responsibility towards the smooth working of the panchayats or Taluk Boards or the District Development Councils falling within their respective constituencies. Being themselves elected representatives of the people, the legislators must set an example of earnestness and sincerity of purpose to other elected men and women without in any way lending themselves to what I may call bossism.

Then, there is the question of collaboration of the above-mentioned three units with other official agencies carrying on developmental work in the villages, for example the Community Development Blocks and the Agricultural Extension Services. If the village people have to derive the maximum advantage from these efforts, it is of the utmost importance that all the workers irrespective of the levels to which they belong must work with single-minded devotion for the uplift of villages. Their common aim and sole interest, namely, improving living conditions and making an all-round improvement in the countryside, must unite them and provide a sense of direction to their activities.

I am sure that this scheme which we are going to launch today is for the good of the people living in thirty thousand odd villages of this State. I am equally certain that the Government and the people will co-operate in making it a success. Nevertheless, I would like to set a criterion to adjudge the success of this scheme after a period of, say, two or three years. In any case the common man is bound to take that view of it; that is to say, he is bound to judge the results in the light of certain standards or criteria, howsoever subjective they may be. I think the safest criterion would be visible improvement in the sanitation and the general look of our villages after the first two years of the working

of the scheme. It is an unfortunate fact that most of our villages have standards of cleanliness and sanitation which repel the dwellers of a well managed city. It may not be a matter of concern in itself, but it affects the village services to some extent. It is too well known that doctors, teachers and other functionaries are so difficult to find for working in villages. The foremost reason adduced against living in villages is the prevalence of insanitary conditions and utter lack of civil amenities there. It has to be admitted that this belief is not altogether groundless. In the race for development and improvement our villages are no doubt lagging far behind towns and cities. If as a result of the first two or three years of the working of this scheme any palpable improvement in living conditions in villages is discernible, we should think that democratic decentralization has been a success. If, however, that is not so, we should take it that our efforts have been infructuous. It seems to me that it would be safest to judge the scheme of Panchayat Rajya from a criterion like this.

I must compliment the Government of Mysore on the time they have devoted to this important subject and the pains they have taken in evolving this scheme. Let me hope their labours would be rewarded and the villages of Mysore State would derive the maximum advantage from this scheme. Let them know that to an outsider hailing from the North, or for that matter from any other part of the country, Mysore stands for natural charm, beauty and delicacy. This impression has to be further enforced by the village people of the State improving their affairs and making their hamlets at least as clean and decent looking as Nature intended and their countrymen hope.

On this occasion I would like to send my greetings and best wishes to the people of Mysore State. Wishing the scheme of Panchayat Rajya all success, I have great pleasure in inaugurating it.

IMPROVING THE TEACHER'S LOT*

I am very happy to be here once again to give away the National Awards to teachers. This is the third time in succession that I have been asked to associate myself with this pleasant function. I agreed to do so with pleasure because I am deeply interested in the advancement of the teaching profession and the welfare of our teachers. As the institution of these awards avowedly aims at the achievement of these two objectives, I thought it was the duty of every one of us to extend our fullest support to it.

I do not think there are many subjects of national importance on which opinions have been expressed lately so frequently as on education in general and our educational system. Public leaders belonging to all schools of thought have now and then expressed their concern at the slow pace of education in our country, the delay in bringing about necessary changes in the prevailing system and the sense of dissatisfaction often expressed with the lot of the teachers. One peculiarity of the views expressed on education has been that the difference of opinion among diverse critics has been more or less marginal or just nominal.

All are agreed about the need of eradicating illiteracy in order to vest democracy and adult franchise with real significance. There is also general agreement on the need of introducing certain changes in the present system of education which owes its origin to India's erstwhile foreign rulers who had devised it primarily to meet their own needs of administration, business, etc. Conditions have since changed completely and those needs no longer hold good. The whole purpose of education, it is argued, has now changed and with it also our general perspective. Not only that, our national requirements have also changed. It is, therefore, only proper that whatever we teach to our children in schools and colleges should also change accordingly.

I need not detail here the steps taken by the Government during the last 12 years or so to devise a system of education which will suit the country best in its changed conditions. Commissions and special committees appointed for the purpose have submitted weighty reports. Action on certain aspects of such recommendations and proposals has probably been taken, while some are, I believe, under consideration.

Educating the masses of a vast country like India is a gigantic undertaking which calls for nation-wide efforts and almost limit-

*Speech made while distributing National Awards for teachers on 22nd December, 1960.

less resources. These factors naturally operate as something like brakes on Government's initiative. In spite of it, however, the Union and the State Governments have taken action not only to provide additional schools and other educational institutions of all kinds but also taken bold decisions to improve the pay-scales of teachers, particularly of those working in primary schools.

I agree with Dr. Shrimali that whatever has so far been done in this direction is by no means adequate. This frank admission on the part of the Union Education Minister should be taken as a measure of Government's earnestness and determination to effect further improvement. The importance of the teachers' role in the building of a nation is now universally recognised and, along with it, it is also realised on all hands that his emoluments, which have so far been inadequate, should be commensurate with the responsibility of his calling. Let us hope it will be possible to go another step further in enhancing the emoluments of our teachers in the near future.

I have returned after a tour of four States only a few hours ago. During this tour I had the good fortune of visiting several educational institutions in Madhya Pradesh, Maharashtra and Gujarat. I was happy to see the general enthusiasm among teachers and students for making the fullest use of available facilities. I was particularly struck by the manner in which the people of Maharashtra have for years regarded it as one of their duties to establish educational institutions in their respective districts. Consequently one finds there virtually a network of schools for boys and girls established by popular educational societies. I would commend that system to people of other States as well, for it appears to me that it is something like a cooperative effort wherein the initiative and the incentive remain throughout with the people of the area concerned.

I am glad to know that the institution of National Awards for teachers has gained wide recognition and has been welcomed by the teaching profession. The number of awards offered by the Union Government has necessarily to be limited, but I should expect that the Governments of the States also do some such thing on their own so that the services of a still larger number of teachers may be recognised. If, for example, every State were to select a few best teachers from every district and then confer recognition on them at the State level, I should think it will go a long way in raising the social status of the teaching profession and making the people conscious of the importance of their role in our social set-up. For, let it not be forgotten that there are two things which

every worker expects in lieu of his services. They are, firstly, pecuniary benefits accruing from it and, secondly, the prestige and respect in society which comes to him by virtue of his work. We have to improve the teacher's lot in respect of both of these considerations. I have already said, and more than myself the Union Minister of Education, that the Government is doing all that is possible to enhance the pay-scales of teachers. As for prestige and social respectability, Government's anxiety to vest the teaching profession with it is apparent from the fact of the institution of these National Awards for teachers. Let me hope that over and above what the Government is doing and proposes to do in this respect, the Indian public will also bear the teacher's role in mind and give him the respect that is due to him.

I would like to congratulate all those who have received National Awards today. It is a recognition of which they can legitimately feel proud. Let me hope when they go back to their places, they will be able to exert their influence in a still greater measure for improving the atmosphere of schools and thus adding to the dignity of the profession to which they have dedicated their lives. I wish you all the best of luck and many more years of service to the Nation.

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PEDIATRICS AND THE CHILD WELFARE*

It gives me great pleasure to be present here today to inaugurate the first Congress of Pediatrics in which a large number of Asian countries are participating and quite a few Western countries have sent their observers. To all the delegates and observers I extend a hearty welcome on behalf of myself and the people of this country.

I would like to say at the very outset that organizing an all-Asian Congress on such an important subject of common interest as pediatrics and child health is a very welcome step, which, incidentally, is entirely in keeping with the present-day world trends. We have happily reached a stage in which insularity of nations has become as outmoded as it is unfeasible. It is not merely self-interest of a narrow type that provides the incentive for mutual discussions and exchange of data about the incidence of diseases which respect none and reckon no national boundaries. I am persuaded to hope that international collaboration for grappling with common problems is an essential aspect and a characteristic feature of the present times and that its main-springs lie in our convictions. Nations of the world have no doubt arrived at this conclusion in their own interests, but it is also undeniably true that the concept of mutual collaboration among various countries has emerged as an inevitable phase of human and international relationship. It is a happy augury that the field of this collaboration is widening steadily, so that it has come to cover not only the spheres of commerce and industry but also those of knowledge and health. It is such international efforts undertaken by agencies of the United Nations or unofficial bodies like your Congress which are at once the basis as well as the source of strength for the welcome current trends that I have referred to above. We must, therefore, welcome them heartily not only in the interest of solving complicated problems but also for fostering the idea of one-world by bringing nations closer to one another.

There are a number of factors, geographical, economic and social, common to most of the countries of the Asian continent. Exchange of scientific and professional information on children's diseases and a discussion of the problem among delegates of these countries is, therefore, obviously a great advantage. Some of these countries are no doubt more advanced than others and

*Inaugural Address at the First All Asian Congress of Pediatrics at New Delhi on 2nd January, 1961.

have reached a high standard of medical aid and clinical proficiency, but there are others which are struggling to reach higher standards in modern science and treatment for the benefit of their peoples. Since the resources of countries vary, it may not be possible for every nation to hit upon the best method of treatment on the basis of its own experience. Scientific research in every branch of knowledge aims at serving the cause of humanity by mitigating the suffering of man; we must, therefore, treat all discoveries or, for the matter, the outcome of every research as belonging to a common pool of knowledge. Perhaps in no other branch of science is it more essential than in that of medicine or curative sciences. And, needless to say, it is possible only if people of various countries meet to discuss given problems and exchange notes and information pertaining to them.

In our reconstruction plans we have given high priority to health services in this country. We are concentrating both on preventive measures, that is to say, measures to control disease by raising people's resistance and also on improving and expanding our medical services. India being a vast country with a large population, our efforts in this direction have yet much to cover and achieve, but we hope to go ahead undeterred by our limited resources or the vastness of our population. The one sphere where we have to make up particularly a big leeway is the care of children and the treatment of their diseases. We are conscious of our shortcomings in this connection and have already taken in hand an ambitious plan of child welfare. Pediatrics, naturally, occupies an important place in this programme.

In order to fight children's diseases it is not enough merely to provide medical facilities. Preventive measures are of particular importance in this case, and of no less consequence is the provision of certain basic amenities to children. Though in the ultimate analysis measures like providing nutritious food, recreational facilities and better environments at home and at school for children are dependent on a country's economic resources, I do think that Pediatrics is a matter of special importance and deserves top priority. Of course, provision of adequate medical aid to suffering or handicapped children is in itself deserving of closest attention. What I mean to say is that we have to take all these factors into consideration while organizing our programme of child health services.

I am sure all that you learn about the conditions prevailing in this country and the general problem of child health in India, will interest you, for conditions in some of the other Asian countries

may be very nearly the same or, at any rate, not far different from these. Let me hope the information which the delegates give about their respective countries will furnish you with valuable data which may be taken as a basis for formulating a child health programme suitable for all the Asian countries. I have no doubt that this kind of exchange of views on a subject of mutual interest will go a long way in putting Pediatrics on a sound footing in Asian countries.

Friends, I would like to welcome you once again to our country and hope that your sojourn here will be comfortable as well as profitable. I wish you all godspeed and pray for the success of your deliberations.

It gives me great pleasure to declare the first All-Asian Congress of Pediatrics open.

INDIAN SCIENCE CONGRESS*

It is a matter of great pleasure and indeed privilege for me to have been asked to inaugurate this session of the Indian Science Congress, even though I know that rightly this office belongs to our Prime Minister, Shri Jawaharlal Nehru, who has been associating himself with this organisation in this capacity for some time. I cannot claim to know what prompted the organisers of this congress to invite me to inaugurate this session, but I have no hesitation in saying that, for my part, the acceptance of your invitation has no basis either in any academic distinctions in science or research in any of its branches. However, like anyone else, I am deeply interested in science, its rapid progress and its all-pervading influence in modern times; and perhaps that is good enough to entitle one to at least some kind of formal association with this body of celebrated scientists.

It is no doubt true that for its onward march science has had to, as it ever will, depend on the labours of scientists, but it is no less true that the effect of scientific discoveries is universal in character, that is to say, no living person can fail to be influenced by them. These discoveries are too assertive and pervasive to leave anyone unaffected by them. Successive discoveries and inventions have tended to create a scientific outlook and have ushered in an atmosphere which has come to be reckoned as the hall-mark of the modern age. Thus, science, scientific inventions and their effect on society have become today foremost among the hard realities of life which compel attention.

Before I dwell on certain aspects of modern science and its potentialities, I would like to draw a line between the old and the new conception of knowledge. Epistemologically speaking, the ideals and aims governing the search for knowledge may not have undergone any perceptible change, but during the last two hundred years, man's attitude towards knowledge, his *modus operandi* of acquiring it and, to some extent, the very nature of knowledge have changed vastly. Ancient and mediaeval thinkers and philosophers looked upon physical sciences as dealing with but limited phenomena so that they loved to dwell on what they thought lay beyond the world of matter. They rightly called it Metaphysics. The world of physics or physical sciences had then but limited scope which did not permit enough scope to man's intellectual pursuits, specially to his flights of fancy and imagination. To satisfy these faculties, thinkers dabbled into the world

*Inaugural address at the 48th Indian Science Congress at Roorkee on January 3, 1961.

beyond and, depending on personal experience and intuition, they constructed systems of philosophy which be it said to their credit, are of absorbing interest even today. Not only that, the scope and direction of this philosophical thought has cut across all barriers of time and clime, with the result that there is endless evidence to prove the parallelism of thought in the East and the West, the Orient and the Occident.

It seems to me that the special value of this occurrence lies in the fact that its conclusions have not been merely innocuous but, in many cases, they have proved to be prophetic. In India for example, there is no dearth of thinkers who looked upon matter as something unsubstantial in its ultimate analysis. When we come across the analysis of matter into *anu* and *paramanu*, we are forced to appreciate their foresight in the context of the present-day splitting of the atom. I mean only to suggest that the thinking of the ancients, whether in this country or elsewhere has not been altogether profitless even from the scientist's point of view; but their knowledge of the nature of matter was, comparatively speaking, much less and their emphasis for that reason was on metaphysics. If their approach to cosmology was mainly intuitional, ours today is essentially experimental, if somewhat pragmatic.

The strides that science has made in modern times have changed the emphasis and along with it our attitude towards matter. Here also the most striking thing is that many a devoted scientist has felt compelled to peep out and predicate a world distinct from that of matter. This has provided some common ground for the scientist and the philosopher. In any case the conviction is growing that science and philosophy far from being opposed to each other are in actual fact complementary of each other.

I am afraid this has been a digression. What I intended to say is that in the world of knowledge the old and the new seem to belong to different strata. There are no doubt gems of wisdom in old knowledge but one has to wade through layers of mist and a pall of haziness in order to reach them. In science experiment has largely taken the place of intuition and accuracy has replaced conjecture. This change may be hailed as the harbinger of the modern outlook. The new attitude symbolising this outlook came with the scientific spirit of enquiry and taking nothing for granted.

Thanks to this attitude and the unremitting efforts of scientists, the bounds of human knowledge are far wider and more extensive today than they were ever before. We know much more today

than ever before about the essential facts of life and the recent inventions have brought within the pale of possibility things which could hardly be said to excite human imagination a couple of centuries ago. Annihilation of distance by speedy aerial communications is the most tangible manifestation of this change in the present age, described by some as supersonic. Roving in overseas lands, which once only daring adventurers like Marco Polo or inspired truth seekers like some of the travellers of olden days could undertake, is now a matter of routine.

Revolutionary though these changes are, the one fact that has made deepest impress on human conscience is the invention of deadly weapons of war. It is the invention of missiles and atom and hydrogen bombs which holds today the human race in awe. So far as the destructive capacity of these weapons is concerned, they are capable of holding humanity at bay; and as for the potentialities of these inventions in terms of power, they promise a real El Dorado for the whole mankind. The fact of the scientific discoveries being double-edged is the most important aspect of the advance in human knowledge. And thereby hangs a moral which man can ignore at his own peril. I would like to call it the paradox of knowledge. The power that man has acquired through scientific discoveries for harnessing the forces of Nature is so stupendous that its wrong use can make a short shrift of the whole race of inventors. Yet it is difficult to imagine how such a catastrophe can be avoided if the traditional reliance on violence and aggression as the sole arbiter of national and international disputes continues to hold the field. Our knowledge has, therefore, posed a challenge to our traditional ways of thinking and age-old modes of living. We shall have to eschew the use of force or, in other words, war itself, if we want to steer safe of these weapons and the chain reaction their use will set in, which is bound to sound the death-knell of human civilization, if not the planet on which it flourishes.

When one thinks of all this and tries to take stock of the strides that science has taken in the present century resulting in unprecedented material progress, a sense of peculiar helplessness creeps over us. Without developing some other faculty which may ensure for us that these inventions will always be used for the good of man, we may well feel that world could be a better place to live in without these advancements. We are faced with a dilemma which boils down to this simple question; is the modern man's scientific knowledge to be his incubus or a blessing helping him to lead a happier and fuller life? It is clear to all that the only way to harness the discoveries of science into the service of

man is by developing a sense of values, call it moral or religious or spiritual. Without it all this advance and the consequent material progress, howsoever good in itself, will ever continue to hold before us the threat of extermination.

The stress on the material or spiritual values may have differed from time to time but the relationship between material and spiritual principles is chronologically as old as human thinking. Among the foremost present-day protagonists of the spiritual principle are included some of the most celebrated scientists. Developing a spiritual outlook is, therefore, not merely an expedient but also in keeping with the highest ideals. Whatever one might think of the potentialities of scientific knowledge or of scientists straying into the field of morality or spiritualism, it should be conceded that there is no inherent incompatibility between science and moral values. Both of them are two different aspects of the same reality. They are not only not mutually exclusive but largely interdependent and complementary. May I as a firm believer in the moral and spiritual values, say that even for this realisation the world owes a debt of gratitude to science?

Having brought moral values, though indirectly, into new focus, let us hope science will forge powerful sanctions in support of this aspect of knowledge and experience. The world looks to science for the conquest of want and eradication of human suffering. Let us hope the new knowledge man has acquired will bring the promised kingdom of heaven on earth. May science continue to serve mankind by removing the cobwebs of ignorance and misery from the world and may its inventions ever remain a blessing for all living beings, is my hope and prayer.

Friends, it has given me great pleasure to meet all of you here and to have got this opportunity of saying a few words to you. I wish your deliberations to be successful in the promotion of science and the scientific outlook in this country and elsewhere.

I have great pleasure in declaring this 48th session of the Indian Science Congress open.

A WORD OF ADVICE TO I.A.S. PROBATIONERS*

The Indian Administrative Service, like the old Indian Civil Service, is intended to take up all kinds of work in the districts as well as in the State Governments, and therefore the training that you must be receiving here must necessarily be of a general character, and I suppose for any specialized work, you will have to take further training when you go to the districts. I know that in the former days young officers used to be attached to experienced officers in the districts, and for some time they worked under Magistrates thus watching the proceedings in courts, and for some time they worked in offices thus watching how files are dealt with, and then for a pretty long time they used to go about in villages and to get training in camps there so that they might know particularly the revenue work which used to be done largely in villages. Now-a-days you have got added to these quite a number of other things which were non-existent in the olden days. All our nation-building work now, I suppose, takes up a lot of time of the officials in the districts and therefore their training has to be much more detailed as well as much more extensive, that is to say, they have to know a number of things which were not required to be known or studied by the old ICS people, and then they are required further to have a deeper study of those things and of many other things. Therefore the work now is very much more difficult and more widespread, and more interesting also—more interesting because you have to deal with human beings from day to day, and every action of yours will somehow or other come in contact with other people who are placed in your charge. You have, therefore, to carry with you not only knowledge but also a will to serve them, and I think that is needed more than anything else. It is easy enough to sit in an office and dispose of papers, passing orders for others to carry on, but it is much more difficult to implement a decision which has been taken either by yourself or by somebody else and to give practical effect to any decision which has been taken. It is more difficult. Take, for example, an ordinary thing—you have to establish a panchayat in a village. It is not a very difficult thing, but it requires a great deal of experience. You must find out the right type of man to be put in charge, you have to see to it that he does his work not only honestly but also efficiently, and the true criteria of honesty and efficiency have to be applied not only to others who serve under you, but to every action of your own. That I think is the great need of the country today.

You must be reading newspapers and it is not necessary for me to point out that there is a lot of criticism of our present offi-

*Address to I.A.S. Probationers on 4th January, 1961.

cials. Some of it may be exaggerated, some of it fully unjustified, but there is no doubt that there may be some part of it which is quite justified: And to meet all such criticism is not to find out a reply to any question which has been raised or any point which has been raised how to meet it, but really to see to it that the ground on which the objection has been taken does not exist in fact, that is to say, to remove the particular grievance which is the object of the complaint, and not only to satisfy yourself and try to satisfy your superiors by pointing out reasons why it should not be done and it could not be done, but to do the right thing. That is the best way to meet all kinds of criticism.

I suggest to you as young officers in the first place when you go just to get yourselves thoroughly acquainted with the practical work that you have to do and also to get yourselves thoroughly acquainted with the people amongst whom you have to work. These are the two things, to know the business and to know the people. If you get both these in hand, you will be able to go a great way in effectively discharging your duties.

Even now, your service is regarded as a prize service in the country; it is supposed to be the best service in the country and rightly because it has got prospects and it has got also an assured life for you; and if you can manage your affairs well, for your children. That being so, you have to see that you give the best that is in you to the country, for the country looks after you and you have to look after the country and do it as well as you can. When you think of this, you have to depend not only upon the minimum that is required of you, but to find out the best that you can render, the best that you can give. The minimum can be easily done, but that is not good enough. What is good enough is the best that he can do and not the least that he is expected to do or that he should do under the circumstances.

These are some of the ideas which have come to my mind when I think of young people going in service. At the present moment we have got these various projects—the 5-year Projects and various projects under the 5-year Plans and also various projects big and small according to the locality where you are posted. There may be educational projects, there may be projects for activizing the industrial potentiality of the place and so on, and whatever comes your way, you have to see that you do the best that you can in that line.

There are many things in which you will find yourself not quite up to date. Well, that does not matter. I do not think

it is a disqualification to confess that you do not know a particular thing. The difficulty comes in when you say that you know a thing while actually not knowing it. But if you are prepared to admit that you do not know a particular thing and you have to acquire the knowledge of it or the qualification for it, there will be no question about it. The only thing then will be that you will have to acquire that knowledge and that qualification so that you may discharge your duty. Therefore, you should not be ashamed of owning mistakes if you commit any, as is not unlikely. Everyone does commit mistakes and there is nothing to be ashamed of in that. But when you have committed a mistake and you know that a mistake has been committed, then you will have to rectify the mistake. That is what is really needed, which you cannot avoid. Knowing that mistakes have been committed, if you persist, then there will be difficulty. That has to be avoided. So, whether you are sitting in a court in a judicial capacity disposing of cases of individuals or State against individuals, or whether you are sitting in an office disposing of a petition, or sitting in another position where you have to direct duties of a particular kind, wherever you may be and whatever the work you may have to do, you have to do it with zest, with enthusiasm and with integrity.

There is nothing more that I could say which would be of use to you if you do not have these. But if you have these, then you need not worry. Things will take care of themselves.

Friends, I think I have talked much, and in the course of your training all this and much more must have been told to you and you must have gained some experience also in these things. But since you are young, I thought I had better give you some of my own experiences and my own ideas so that you could, if you so like, derive some benefit from my experiences and my knowledge.

PLACE OF STATISTICS IN THE DEVELOPMENT OF AGRICULTURE*

It gives me great pleasure to be in your midst once again to inaugurate the 14th Annual Meeting of the Indian Society of Agricultural Statistics. While I have not been able to be present at some of your recent meetings I have been following your progress from year to year with great interest and feel that, especially at the present moment when we are on the threshold of the 3rd Five Year Plan your deliberations will have a very useful role in helping to solve the numerous problems that we face in quickening the pace of our agricultural development.

The present is also a suitable moment at which we should look back and consider what has been achieved in the field of agriculture during the period of the first two Five Year Plans. Expansion of irrigation potential as a result of progress of the various river valley projects and minor irrigation works would probably stand out as the most noteworthy achievement in the field of agriculture during this period. The large scale production of fertilizers at Sindri and elsewhere is another achievement of great significance. I am glad to say that our research workers have bred new, superior varieties of crops and developed improved agricultural practices and our extension workers have created a new fertilizer consciousness amongst our cultivating community. Satisfactory as these developments are, we cannot forget that our agriculture has not only to meet current demands more adequately but to keep pace with the growth of our population. It is necessary, therefore, to examine our position from time to time and to take all possible steps to accelerate the pace of agricultural development to meet our growing needs. An examination of statistics of our agricultural production indicates that our progress so far has not been quite up to our expectations. Some difficulties in our progress such as the non-utilization of irrigation potential generated by the various plan projects point to the fact that we should further examine our approach to planning in this field. In animal husbandry also there appears to be a wide scope for improvement especially because Indian population is largely vegetarian and suffers from lack of protective feeds like milk.

The broad approach to agricultural development, however, has resulted during the past ten years in creating consciousness among our rural population of the need for increasing agricultural

*Inaugural Speech at the 14th Annual Meeting of the Indian Society of Agricultural Statistics, New Delhi on January 9, 1961.

production and has also achieved some measure of success in securing higher production. I recall having observed at an earlier conference of the Society that the problem of planning in agriculture is analogous to and might be considered in the context of planning for an individual cultivator who is the ultimate unit of our agrarian structure. The resources ordinarily available to him are his land, his own labour and that of his family and some capital. The alternatives open to him are many. He can grow one or more crops and choose a larger or smaller acreage for each keeping in view all the while the investment he will have to make and the return that he was likely to get. Even after deciding which crops to grow various alternatives are open to our farmer in using his limited capital for providing irrigation, fertilizer improved seed, etc. to his crops. His basic problem in allocating his resources is to secure the maximum return from them. He cannot possibly adopt any improvement measures which do not fit in with his needs and limitations of his resources. Agricultural planning for the nation must be founded on the needs and capacities of individual farmers in different areas depending on their environment. It has thus to take the shape of planning for small homogeneous areas taking into account the needs and resources of such areas. I am, therefore, glad to see that the need for planning for small areas is recognised in the 3rd Five Year Plan, the community development block is put down explicitly as the unit of planning and development in the draft outline of the plan and the final national targets for agriculture are proposed to be worked out on the basis of detailed agricultural plans for villages and blocks.

It is obvious that realistic planning for such small areas would require a variety of detailed agricultural statistics for the respective areas. These should include statistics of land utilization, crop acreages, livestock numbers, irrigation resources, extent of drainage, agricultural population and labour force, crop yields etc. at the village and block levels. Information regarding agricultural holdings, their number, fragmentation, size, tenure, cropping, irrigation, availability of human labour, animal power and machinery will be required for formulation of detailed village and block plans. Detailed planning requires detailed data on the structure of agriculture in each small area. Collection of this information will, of course, involve appreciable effort and expenditure, but in the context of our development needs and the magnitude of our targets this expenditure would be seen to be modest and would in fact be a very wise investment as it would make more effective planning possible. Fortunately quite a substantial portion of

the data is already available in the village records and has mainly to be reorganised after scrutiny and verification in a form suitable for purposes of planning. The decennial agricultural census sponsored by the F.A.O. and initiated in 1960 seems to offer a very good opportunity to collect the basic data required for agricultural planning and I hope that the fullest advantage will be taken of this opportunity.

Armed with this information the planners and extension workers can go ahead with detailed planning. If through the limitation of our resources it should not be possible to aim at the targets emerging from detailed village and block plans this information will still be useful in efficient allocation and utilization of available resources. The basic information would be useful not only at the stage of planning but also in the implementation of the development programmes and at a later stage for evaluating the progress made in agriculture.

There is another aspect of agricultural planning to which I wish to call your attention, which might be called the human aspect. As I have said on an earlier occasion the problem in agricultural planning is not merely one of securing maximum return or income from agriculture or providing raw materials to industries but one of meeting the needs of the population and of alleviating the extensive underemployment prevalent in rural areas. The latter involves planning for the mass of rural population which is either landless or possesses tiny holdings hardly adequate to maintain their owners. The solution of the problem would seem to be in developing a pattern of rural activity such as dairying, poultry keeping and various cottage industries that will reduce the seasonality of employment inherent in arable farming. This would require a study of employment opportunities offered by various cropping and farming patterns in different areas. This again would entail study of each small area and collection of employment and other relevant data for these areas.

I hope that steps would be taken to collect the basic data required for broad-based and detailed agricultural planning. The task of collection of these data presents a challenge to our statisticians which I have no doubt they can meet successfully. I trust that these problems would receive the priority they deserve in the deliberations of the Society. I wish your Conference all success.

I now declare the session open and invite Dr. Lokanathan to give his address.

KATHAKALI CENTRE IN DELHI*

Dr. Panikkar and friends,

I am happy to be present here to inaugurate this ceremony. I have always looked upon Indian art as a sort of a garland which consists of a number of beads each of which is individually separate from the others and each has its own lustre and beauty. But through them there runs an accord which binds them together. So our Indian culture which is expressed through art in different parts of the country in different ways assumes different forms but has a running theme as has been pointed out by Dr. Panikkar and the theme mostly derives from ancient epics and the various parts of the country have the opportunity to express it in their own language and in their own ways as it has been developed in those parts. I am, therefore, happy to hear that in the north, about 1500 miles away from its centre, Kathakali will be produced for the benefit of the residents of Delhi from time to time in order that the people may understand and appreciate the underlying features of that art. Attempts are being made to symbolize them. The light which I have lighted may illumine us and it may continue to enlighten the people of Delhi for many years to come.

*Speech while inaugurating the International Centre for the Kathakali at Sapru House, New Delhi, on the 13th January, 1961.

AFRO-ASIAN CONFERENCE ON RURAL RECONSTRUCTION*

I am very happy this morning to address this Conference of distinguished delegates coming from so many great nations of Africa and Asia. This is the first occasion in history when representatives of the Afro-Asian nations have gathered together to discuss problems facing agriculture and rural reconstruction in their countries at an International gathering like the present one. This is, therefore, a memorable day and I consider it a great privilege to extend to you a hearty welcome on behalf of my country.

Coming as I do of a family of farmers and having my home in a small village, my interest in agriculture and rural India is as old as my childhood, which I spent among rural surroundings. The idea, therefore, of an International Conference in which will be discussed the most fundamental and yet perplexing problems facing reconstruction of the rural people, thrills me.

I had a similar opportunity of addressing an International gathering in November, 1959 when I was called upon to inaugurate the 11th Session of the International Federation of Agricultural Producers held in Delhi. In holding their conference here at the invitation of the Bharat Krishak Samaj, they met on the continent of Asia for the first time. This great event was followed by one which was still greater, namely, history's First World Agriculture Fair. This gave our people an opportunity to view the achievements of our agriculture in the broad perspective of the achievements made in the various advanced countries of the world in the field of agriculture. It was a rare occasion for us in India and over three million people came to this fascinating and instructive Exhibition of agriculture, rural life and development.

Although I have no first-hand knowledge of the actual conditions of the rural people in the various countries of this group. I believe it is correct to say that our problems in most countries of Asia and Africa are, more or less, similar. First and foremost, many of us have got out of our political bondage only recently. In this country, our agriculture is backward. The yields in most cases are low. The farming community is poor and not very

*Inaugural speech at the Afro-Asian Conference on rural reconstruction at New Delhi on 18th Jan., 1961.

highly educated. The land tenure systems are antiquated and need suitable reforms. In most cases I believe, the holdings are small and do not always enable a family to provide for all its needs and improve its agriculture. The co-operative movement which is the hope of the rural communities is weak and coming up slowly. The net result of all this is that the problem of freeing our people from hunger and malnutrition stares us in the face. These are, I am told, among the problems you propose to discuss here. Another factor at the root of these ills is that the number of people dependent on agriculture is too large. It is a recognised principle of economics that the prosperity of our countries varies inversely with the numbers dependent on agriculture. We have, therefore, not only to improve the conditions of the rural people but also to see that many of them are gradually diverted towards industries or other suitable vocations. In this connection it is obvious that cottage and small-scale industries open up large vistas of whole-time or part-time employment in rural areas.

These, in any case, are the problems that we have to face in India. It is, therefore, most appropriate that you have met here in this Conference this morning to tackle the situation from various angles. I am sure that your deliberations would be fruitful. Your coming here would give you not only an opportunity to have a free exchange of views but to learn from the experience of others and also to have a look at our country and know at first hand what struggles it is putting forward to improve its economic position. For developing countries, this exchange of thoughts should prove a very great asset and the social contacts that would emerge from this will no doubt lead to better understanding and greater solidarity among our various countries, irrespective of politics or other extraneous considerations.

I have gone through the items on the agenda which you propose to discuss in this Conference. All the subjects have an important bearing on the economy of the rural people. I understand that all the countries of Europe, the two Americas and Australia have very well established farmers' organisations. They have done yeoman service in their countries in the cause of agriculture. In the Asian and African countries, this movement has still to spread. Healthy non-political non-sectarian organisations of farmers devoted to promoting the welfare of their farmers and raising the output of food would, I think be a great supplementary force in establishing and also strengthening the economy of our countries.

I am happy that my country has been chosen as the venue of this first meeting of the Afro-Asian nations. I am further happy that the initiative for the same has come from our farmers' organisation, the Bharat Krishak Samaj.

Friends, you have my most cordial good wishes for the success of this Conference which I have much pleasure to inaugurate.

WELCOME TO THE QUEEN OF ENGLAND*

Your Majesty, Your Royal Highness,

It gives me great pleasure to extend to Your Majesty a hearty welcome on behalf of the people and the Government of India and on my own behalf. I am glad to be able to extend an equally warm and cordial welcome to His Royal Highness the Duke of Edinburgh, who is no stranger to us; we had the privilege of having him with us two years ago. It is our earnest hope that during your stay in our country you will see something of this ancient land of ours and of the endeavours in which we are engaged of building a new, prosperous and democratic India.

The United Kingdom and India have had close relations for some two hundred years. This long association between our two countries has left an abiding influence on our minds and on our institutions. You will see the signs of this, perhaps, yourself during your sojourn in our country, and I hope you will feel at home in our midst. As a member of the Commonwealth, India shares with the United Kingdom certain common aims,—international goodwill and international peace being, perhaps, the most important of them. We welcome you, today, not only as the Head of the oldest democracy in the world, but also as the Head of a great Commonwealth. It is my earnest hope that your visit will further strengthen the ties of friendship and fellow feeling that exist between the United Kingdom and India.

Your Majesty, Your Royal Highness, I welcome you once again.

*Speech welcoming the Queen of England at the Airport on the 21st. January, 1961.

BANQUET IN HONOUR OF THE QUEEN OF ENGLAND*

Your Majesty, Your Royal Highness, Excellencies, Ladies and Gentlemen,---

May I, on behalf of the Government and people of India and on my own behalf extend to Your Majesty and Your Royal Highness a most cordial welcome to our country. Almost to a day, two years ago, Your Royal Highness paid India a visit; and now, on this auspicious day of Basant Panchami, the traditional harbinger of Spring, it is our pleasure and privilege to welcome Your Majesty with warmth and cordiality, as the monarch of a great nation and the Head of the Commonwealth.

This is not, of course, the first time that a ruler of the United Kingdom has visited this country. Exactly fifty years ago, your grand-father came to Delhi. But the circumstances were then very different. We are mindful of the fact that it was during the reign of your well loved father that we attained independence; and I am sure that I am not alone in voicing the opinion that we have been looking forward to the day when we should receive you as the honoured and welcome guest of the Government and people of this country.

The events of 1947 changed the whole aspect of the relations between our two countries; and the Indian people, as much as the British, elected to keep alive only the pleasant memories of their long association. This happy result has been achieved on the one hand by the timely action of the British in parting with power effectively and gracefully and, on the other, by the teachings of Mahatma Gandhi, the philosopher and leader who guided us to this new destiny, the destiny of peaceful relations, relations of friendship rather than strife, with those who had ruled over us. And this became possible, no one can doubt, because there was no strife in his heart, there was no ill-will and no rancour, not even when he was leading us in this struggle for Independence, for long years before 1947. To his name and to his memory, I wish to pay homage once again today.

Our relations with the United Kingdom are part of our own history of the last two hundred years; and the British impact on India has been in many ways an abiding one. But, thanks mainly to the leadership of Mahatma Gandhi, who taught us that

*Speech at the Banquet in honour of the Queen of England on 21st Jan., 1961.

nationalism should never acquire an exclusive character, we have also sought to strengthen the finer aspects of our relations. English language and literature play a prominent part in our lives, and the whole English tradition colours and conditions some of our ways of thought. The influence of British jurisprudence can still be traced in our laws. Above all, we have sought to develop the British methods of politics and government, adapting them to our own context. I can confidently assure Your Majesty that in many ways you will feel at home during your sojourn in our country.

Perhaps the most striking result of the goodwill with which the transfer of power was effected in 1947 is the fact that the institution of the Commonwealth has been so developed that both our countries, without any limitations on their sovereignty, can continue to be members. It is as a multi-racial association for consultation on matters of common interest that the Commonwealth has come into prominence and it is in this form that the Commonwealth has served not only to strengthen relations between its members but also, if I may venture to say so, provided an example to the world. It is, perhaps, the most suitable and effective organisational expression of the world's interdependence that exists today. It places no trammels on its members, but fosters an intimacy beyond the formal communications of diplomacy. We do not all of us have the same viewpoint and we need not minimise the differences. But the very fact that they are expressed in friendly and informal discussions is, in this loud and raucous world of today, a matter for satisfaction; and the association itself, based as it is on equality, tends to mutual advantage and benefit.

During your stay in our country, Your Majesty will have an opportunity of seeing something of our ancient past, as well as of our present adventure of building a prosperous India. This is a gigantic task, and we appreciate the generous help in various fields given to us by the Government and people of the United Kingdom and the other members of the Commonwealth, of which you are the Head. Particularly do we appreciate the assistance in science and technology given to us by the United Kingdom, who is in this field one of the leaders of the world. Your Majesty will, among other places of interest, be visiting Durgapur, where the great steel plant is a joint effort of Indo-British co-operation and a striking symbol of our continuous and close association.

I feel confident that the present visit of Your Majesty will further strengthen and enrich the friendship between India and the United Kingdom. I assure Your Majesty of the friendship

of the Indian people for the people of the United Kingdom, and their heart-felt good wishes to you for long, happy and peaceful years in the exalted position you occupy.

Your Excellencies, ladies and gentlemen, I ask you to join me in drinking to the health of Her Majesty, Queen Elizabeth, Head of the Commonwealth, and that of His Royal Highness the Duke of Edinburgh.

ACKNOWLEDGING OF FELICITATIONS BY THE DIPLOMATIC CORPS*

Your Excellencies, Ladies and Gentlemen,

I am conscious of the honour that the Diplomatic Corps has done me, as in previous years, on this happy occasion of our Republic Day Anniversary. It is in itself a pleasure to meet distinguished representatives of so many countries. And when they all express their good wishes and felicitations in such a fraternal manner, one can hardly help being overwhelmed. Allow me, therefore, to thank you on behalf of the Indian people and express to you my personal gratitude for the kind thoughts that His Excellency the Nepalese Ambassador has expressed on your behalf.

There can be no doubt that men and nations are today face to face with a peculiar dilemma, the dilemma of knowledge. The world today holds the key to banish all form of human misery but at the same time it has also acquired power to extinguish all form of life. The main question that man's success in unfolding the mysteries of Nature has posed is how is one to ensure that the newly acquired knowledge will ever be a boon and not turn out to be a curse for humanity, that the wonders of science will further rather than retard man's evolution. And, let no one imagine that we have come anywhere near the bottom in the process of digging for knowledge. The plain truth is that never before has man been more conscious of his limitations. This thing again presents itself as a paradox. The more we know the more we are getting convinced of our ignorance, so that only an unthinking man can afford to be dogmatic or overbearing in his attitude today.

I do not want to strike a pessimistic note. To take a dark view of these developments will be a travesty of not only facts but also of human history. Can anyone deny that today man knows man far better than ever before? Is it not a fact that nations inhabiting various continents and hemispheres have come far closer to one another today than ever before in world's history? Air-travel and other technological inventions are tending to make light of national boundaries and regional ideologies. The spirit of world unity, which you Mr. Ambassador, have been pleased to call global consciousness, is fast colouring and conditioning human thought. Many an old prejudice has been swept off by this spate of new knowledge and slowly but certainly, is emerging a new spirit

*Reply to the speech of the doyen of the diplomatic corps at Luncheon on the 23rd January, 1961.

of fellowship and understanding which promises to become a permanent mood of mankind. Let us hope the new spirit catches up and encircles the globe.

I must thank the Doyen of the Diplomatic Corps for his most friendly reerence to India, specially her policy of non-alignment. I accept the compliment gratefully though the success of this policy and our sincerity it is for others to judge. Our policy of open mind has its genesis in India's history. As the author and chief architect of this policy, our Prime Minister, Shri Jawaharlal Nehru, has so often said, this policy of non-aggression and co-existence has deep roots in our country's historical and cultural development through the ages. On surface it may look to be the line of least resistance, but I need hardly say that it is not so in actual fact. It calls for faith in other nations and a strong will in ourselves to live up to this ideal. At every step, it involves looking within and judging oneself by the standards one seeks to measure others with. It calls for patience in the midst of provocations and has to rely on understanding in the face of misunderstandings. Sometimes, the path seems hard and dreary but conviction and inner faith somehow bring sustenance. Ultimately it is in this faith in other nations and in our own will to live up to the ideals of tolerance and international amity that the future of the world lies.

We may be an ancient nation but we are a young Republic and we look forward to benefiting from the experiences of many of you. For, amongst you there are many who represent Republics and Democratic States far older than India. Our leader and guide, Mahatma Gandhi, taught us the wisdom of keeping the windows of our minds and hearts open to let the fresh breeze of ideas freely blow. And so, let all of us pool our knowledge and experiences to direct properly the quest for peace. Howsoever uphill, it is a task worth trying. Today peace has become a biological necessity.

I thank you once again for your greetings and good wishes which we highly appreciate.

A WORD OF ADVICE TO UNOFFICIAL AMBASSADORS OF INDIA*

On this day of national rejoicing our thoughts naturally go to you all who are not in our midst today.

I should like to take this opportunity to speak to you about the state of our country. Probably, you know that we are in the midst of the last phase of our Second Five Year Plan and are soon going to take the Third Plan in hand. The implementation of the first two plans has been an exhilarating experience. We have covered much new ground in most of the fields of our major hydro-electric projects, community development and basic industries like Iron & Steel, as also small-scale industries. Whatever the difficulties, we are determined to carry out our programme of national reconstruction. I am sure you have many pleasant surprises in store for you whenever you happen to visit the Mother country next.

The world situation being what it is, some of you may have to make new adjustments. I have no doubt that you will always give a good account of yourself in such circumstances. The interests of the country of your adoption should ever be your guiding light. Besides, do not forget that every Indian abroad is an unofficial ambassador of his country and the world judges India by how he conducts himself.

I should like now to greet you all on this auspicious occasion of the 11th anniversary of our Republic. May the New Year that begins today bring good luck and happiness to us all! Jai Hind.

*Republic day message to Indian National Abroad.

GREETINGS TO THE NATION*

Tomorrow, the Indian Republic enters into its 12th year, and as I greet my countrymen on the eve of this great National Day, I am filled with joy and hope. Ours is a very young Republic but we are an ancient people whose history goes back to thousands of years. Establishment of the Sovereign Democratic Republic of India in 1950 is undoubtedly a great landmark in the history of this great land bound by the Himalayas in the North and the East and the wide seas in the South and the West.

These eleven years form but an infinitesimal part of the history of India but they are for us today of the utmost importance. For, it is a period in our history when we are busy laying the foundations—sound and secure—of a Democratic State of Socialist pattern, whose guiding principles are human dignity and freedom and in which poverty and ignorance are outlawed. Our concept of a Welfare State is one in which every citizen, without any distinction or discrimination, has a chance of honourable existence and of full growth.

It is to that end that all our planning is directed. The work that we are doing today and what we have done since independence, is going to determine our future. Therefore, we must marshal all our resources, spiritual and material. And this we cannot effectively do unless there is the silken thread of fellowship unifying and strengthening all our national endeavours. If we pride ourselves on the fact that we had attained a high degree of culture at a time when a large part of the world was passing through the Stone Age, we should also ask ourselves why we are, where we are today, while many of the erstwhile backward nations have laboured hard and gone ahead. Is it wise to be oblivious of the lessons of history? The darkest spots in our history have been those when our people lost a sense of proportion and attached undue importance to things that were secondary, in fact, petty and ignored the demands of the country. Let us not forget the lesson which our history teaches us and let us make sure that the causes which brought about our downfall do not operate in our national life today or ever again in future.

This year the Nation embarks on the Third Five Year Plan. We have, of course, achieved much in the last 12 years, but we have yet to go a long way before we can claim that we have given economic content to our freedom.

*Republic day Broadcast to the Nation.

We, in India, are faced with many internal and external stresses and strains. We should take them as a challenge to our national will for survival and every year on this auspicious day, we should rededicate ourselves to the cause of the common man and to India's age-old mission of furthering the cause of peace, goodwill and friendship among nations.

The world—especially Asia and Africa—is changing with a somewhat baffling speed necessitating constant vigilance and adjustment. If life is a challenge and an adventure, living in an atomic age with all its perils and potentialities is a greater adventure. If man must survive the self-created dangers, he will have to make a departure from his old stand. A fresh sense of man's mission in this universe, a reassessment of values and a reaffirmation of faith in the 'vishwatma'—the world spirit are the needs of the present time. Old patterns of thought and behaviour, individual, national and international call for revision and reconsideration. May be, they have to give place to new patterns in keeping with the spirit and temper of the new age of space travel.

Our task is great but so also can our national will be mighty. All we have to do is to inspire a sense of belonging, a sense of comradeship in our people. For, are we not engaged in the glorious adventure of building a better India of tomorrow—an India, which will count as a force for peace, progress, freedom and happiness for all mankind? A fresh dedication to the service of the country, an all India vision and a general social awareness are the imperative needs of today. Let us draw inspiration from our past achievements but let us also guard against old mistakes. And let us apply ourselves, heart and soul, to the task which awaits us. Let everyone feel that his personal contribution is as important as the collective effort for our national regeneration. And so, I should like to offer my greetings and sincere good wishes to my countrymen for a better and happier life. Jai Hind.

BUDGET SESSION OF PARLIAMENT*

Members of Parliament,

I welcome you to your labours in a new session of Parliament.

2. The year we have left behind has been one of considerable stress and strain both internally and externally. My Government have faced the problems that arose by their strenuous endeavours and by firm adherence to the principles of their basic policy, and with confidence in the future. Though many and stubborn problems still await solution, or are in the process of being solved, the situation both at home and abroad shows signs of improvement and justifies hope and cautious optimism.

3. The problems of aggression on and incursions into the sovereign territory of the Union have yet to be resolved, but my Government is well alert to them and to all their implications. Defensive arrangements, including the opening up of areas by better communications and development, receive their continuous and careful attention.

4. While China has withdrawn from the military post it had established at Longju and not attempted any further violations of Union territory, her intransigence continues. It is the constant endeavour of my Government to maintain our defensive strength in the face of this continuing hostility from across our frontier. My Government will, however, seek to adhere firmly to the principles which this Nation regards as basic in our relations with nations. They cannot accept the results of unilateral action or decisions taken by China.

5. This peaceful but firm policy and progressive preparedness for defence, has the support of our people and has also profoundly influenced world opinion. We firmly hold that the frontiers between India and China have been for long well established by treaties, custom and usage. In spite of present unwillingness, or even intransigence, my Government hope that, sooner rather than later, China will persuade herself to come to a satisfactory agreement with our country in regard to our common frontiers. Friendly relations with our great neighbour, which my Government have always sought to promote, can then become a reality which will endure and contribute to our common good and to stability in Asia and the world.

*Address to Parliament on February 14, 1961.

6. In pursuance of the agreement announced in the joint communique, issued in April last at the end of the meeting in Delhi between the Prime Minister of China and my Prime Minister, designated officials from their respective Governments have been engaged in talks in New Delhi, Peking and Rangoon. These talks have now concluded. The report submitted to my Government by their officials will be laid before Parliament.

7. My Government have welcomed the emergence of many independent countries in the continent of Africa to full statehood and their admission as full members in the United Nations. This awakening of Africa and the emergence of many sovereign republics is a matter of gratification to us. We welcome especially their declarations to remain unaligned and not to become involved in the cold war conflict. This constitutes a welcome vindication, on merits, of the policy consistently followed by my Government in regard to international relations.

8. The situation in the Congo continues to cause my Government deep concern, involving as it does the freedom and integrity of this recently liberated country, the progress and development of the African continent itself, as well as both the prestige and potency of the United Nations as an instrument for settling international problems and the protection of the weak against aggressive countries. The pressure of Belgian arms, military and semi-military personnel, and their aid to some of the rival groups in the Congo, in defiance of reiterated decisions of the United Nations, are the main disturbing factors in the Congo situation.

9. My Government will continue to follow a policy based upon their dedication to the purposes of the United Nations and their desire to see the Congolese people in the full enjoyment of their newly-won freedom. To this end, my Government have consistently urged the withdrawal of the Belgians, the release of political personalities and more particularly those who have parliamentary immunities, the neutralization of factional forces and armed groups, and the summoning of Parliament and the restoration of constitutional authority.

10. Nearer our own country, in Laos also, a situation has developed that causes grave concern. My Government continue to use their best endeavours for the reactivation of the international Commission with the consent and authority of all concerned, to prevent further deterioration of the situation. Spread of conflict there might have serious repercussions in Asia and the world, and it is the policy of my Government to endeavour to avert it.

11. Goa continues to be under the colonial domination of Portugal. My Government stand committed to the peace liberation of this part of India where a decadent colonialism still survives.

12. India's relations with her neighbours and other countries have continued to be peaceful. My Government, firmly adhering to the policy of peaceful co-existence and good neighbourliness, seek to promote these relations without becoming entangled in military alliances with one country or another.

13. To promote goodwill, there have been exchanges of visits with other countries. I visited the Soviet Union to return the courtesy of the visit of the President of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics to India. I am grateful for the warm welcome which the President, his Government and the people of his country extended to me. The Vice-President visited the United States of America and France.

14. My Prime Minister paid visits to the United Arab Republic Lebanon, Turkey and Pakistan. Other Ministers and some special representatives of Government have visited various countries either on missions of goodwill or for definite purposes. These countries include Ceylon, Mexico, the countries of Western and Eastern Europe, Ethiopia, Nigeria, Ghana and the Mongolian People's Republic.

15. Diplomatic representation was established last year with the Republics of Uruguay, Paraguay, the Congo and the Malagasy Republic.

16. My Government welcomed the emergence of Cyprus as an independent Republic, thus terminating the long period of colonial domination.

17. Her Majesty Queen Elizabeth II and His Royal Highness the Prince Philip, Duke of Edinburgh, kindly accepted my invitation to visit India. We have been happy to have them with us, and they are the honoured and welcome guests not only of myself, but of my Government and our people.

18. We have also had the privilege of welcoming to our country. Their Imperial Highnesses the Crown Prince and Princess of Japan, representing His Imperial Majesty the Emperor of Japan, Mr. Khrushchev, Prime Minister of the Soviet Union, His Majesty the King of Nepal, President Nasser of the United Arab Republic, President Soekarno of Indonesia, President Sekou Toure of Guinea, Professor Theodore Heuss, former President of the Federal Republic

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of Germany, Vice-President Macapagal of the Philippines, and the Prime Ministers of China, Burma, Poland, Nepal and Ceylon. We are also happy to receive Their Highnesses the Maharajas of Bhutan and Sikkim as our distinguished guests. The visits of all these high dignitaries have been a great honour to us.

19. The main issue before the world today is that of disarmament. My Government have persevered on every occasion, more particularly in the United Nations, to assist to formulate a basis of agreement among nations, more especially among the Great Powers, in this regard. To this end, my Government have placed proposals before the General Assembly of the United Nations, the purpose of which is that disarmament negotiations should be definitely directed to the outlawing of war as an instrument for settling disputes between countries.

20. The Union of South Africa persists, much to our regret and in spite of every effort that we make, to discriminate against her nationals of Indian origin and to build her society on the basis of total racial discrimination, that is, *apartheid*. The disregard of human dignity, the violation of human rights and the policy and practice of *apartheid* have showed the world more than ever before.

21. The outline of the Third Five Year Plan has been completed by the Planning Commission with the co-operation of the State Governments and has been approved in principle by the National Development Council. As soon as the Draft Report is ready, it will be placed again before the National Development Council, and later before Parliament.

22. The national income for 1959-60 is estimated to be Rs. 12,210 crores at 1952-53 prices, as compared with Rs. 10,920 crores in 1955-56. The annual rate of increase has not been as much as we had hoped. This was due to severe setbacks suffered by agriculture in 1957-58 and 1959-60. Thus year's crops, however, are expected to be good and industrial production is rapidly rising.

23. Price levels have registered a rise of about 6 per cent. as compared to the previous year. Various measures that my Government have taken have checked this rise and, in some cases, such as cloth, prices have shown a downward movement because of Government action. In spite of the difficulties encountered and the decline in our foreign exchange reserves, the outlook both in agriculture and industry, is definitely promising.

24. Panchayati Raj, or village democracy, has made rapid strides. My Government hope that before the end of 1961, Panchayati Raj institutions would have been introduced in all the States. An elaborate programme for the training of non-officials to help these institutions efficiently, has been inaugurated. Service Co-operatives have increased their membership by approximately 18 million and are expected to disburse loans to the extent of 190 crores of rupees.

25. Agricultural production has again shown definite improvement in 1960-61. The production of Kharif cereals in 1960-61 is now estimated to be more than two million tons higher than that in 1959-60, and it is expected to be higher than even in 1958-59 when our production figure was the highest on record. The prospects of the Rabi crop are also bright. On the whole, 1960-61 may turn out to be a very good year from the point of view of agricultural production. The increase in internal production, along with the measures taken by my Government to build up substantial reserve stocks, has already brought about a healthy trend in foodgrain prices. The targets of minor irrigation and seed multiplication farms, laid down in the Second Five Year Plan are expected to be realised almost fully. Intensive cultivation is being encouraged throughout the country, and, more especially, in selected areas. Under the Third Five Year Plan, agricultural development is being given a high priority, so as to provide a strong base for the economic development of the country. The aim is to achieve self-sufficiency in foodgrains, and to increase considerably other forms of agricultural production.

26. Industrial output has risen, in some cases, spectacularly. For the first ten months of 1960, the production index was 167 as against 149 for the corresponding period of the previous year. The three steel plants in the public sector have been almost completed and are now in progressive production. The manufacture of industrial machinery and machine tools has made satisfactory progress. New sources of oil have been discovered, notably in Ankleshwar in Gujarat and in Sibsagar in Assam. It is expected that trial production will commence this year. Work on two refineries is proceeding, and third refinery is also going to be established.

27. The prospects of the use of atomic energy for industrial purposes, as well as for medical and agricultural uses, have advanced by the inauguration of the third reactor, the Canada-India reactor, which came into operation recently.

28. Among multi-purpose river valley projects, the Chambal River Project, the Gandhi Sagar Dam and the Kotah Barrage

were inaugurated, and two of the five units of 90,000 kilowatts each have been commissioned at Bhakra. The remaining three units are likely to be commissioned in the course of the next few months.

29. Labour relations, apart from the recent regrettable strike by Government employes, have improved. The Code of Discipline has exercised a healthy influence, and there is an appreciable fall in the number of days lost. The Employees' State Insurance Scheme has been extended to further areas to cover about 15.8 lakh factory workers. Tripartite wage boards have already dealt with major industries of cotton textiles, cement and sugar and have been set up for jute and tea plantations. Pilot schemes for workers' participation in management have been introduced in some industrial units.

30. Progress has been made in regard to the introduction of Hindi in the administration. A Central Hindi Directorate has been constituted to carry out the decisions of Government regarding the development and propagation of Hindi.

31. As Members of Parliament are aware, in July last my Government decided in consultation with the Naga leaders to constitute a separate State of Nagaland within the Indian Union. As a first step, I have promulgated a Regulation under which representatives have been elected to an Interim Body to assist and advise the Governor in the administration of Nagaland during the transitional period. My Government are determined to put down the hostile elements which are creating so much hardship and suffering for the people there.

32. A statement of the estimated receipts and expenditure of the Government of India for the financial year 1961-62 will, as usual, be laid before you.

33. Two Ordinances, namely, "The U.P. Sugarcane Cess (Validation) Ordinance" and "The Banking Companies (Amendment) Ordinance", have been promulgated since the last Session of Parliament.

34. Members of Parliament, since I addressed you last, your two Houses have passed 67 Bills. There are 16 Bills pending before you from the last session. My Government will take steps to seek the passage of these Bills during the session.

36. My Government propose to take appropriate steps for the convening of a joint session of Parliament for the consideration of the Dowry Prohibition Bill in regard to which the two Houses have differed in some respects.

36. My Government will place before you the following Bills, among others, for your consideration:—

1. The Income-Tax (Amendment) Bill.
2. The Extradition Bill.
3. The Indian Patents and Designs Bill.
4. The Essential Commodities (Amendment) Bill.
5. The Sugar Export Promotion (Amendment) Bill.
6. The Narcotics Bill.
7. The Apprenticeship Training Bill.
8. The Himachal Pradesh Abolition of Big Landed Estates and Land Reforms (Amendment) Bill.

37. Members of Parliament, I have drawn your attention to some of the main events and achievements, for the past year. I have also projected before you my Government's programme for the coming year. I have drawn your attention to the great tasks and burdens that are in front of us all. I have no doubt that these will engage your dedicated attention. Your understanding, vigilance and co-operation in respect of the many problems of our economic planning, our defence, world peace and the struggle of still dependent peoples, will, I feel sure, be available to my Government and help to reassure our people. The resources of our country and the qualities of our people stand engaged in the historic and tremendous tasks of national reconstruction and progress that are part of our destiny.

38. My Government will constantly endeavour to initiate and promote efforts and schemes to shorten the time between their decisions on policies and the implementation thereof. They will seek to enable our democracy to share and participate at all levels in the great economic and social developments that must progress, if we are to survive as an independent nation with dignity and a sense of fruitful function. The unity and the social well-being of our entire people, the rapid progress to a democratic and socialist society, wherein changes must be timely and progress grow from more to more, must be attained peacefully and by consent.

39. Members of Parliament, I now bid you to your arduous labours and wish you success in them. I am confident that wisdom and tolerance and the spirit of co-operative endeavour will be your guide. May your labours yield a rich harvest and thus advance our country and people and the world which we are all pledged to serve.

APPRECIATION OF LORD ATTLEE'S ADDRESSES*

Lord Attlee and friends—

It is my pleasant function this evening to offer thanks to Lord Attlee for the two very interesting and inspiring addresses which he has delivered to us. He started with saying, just as he has ended with saying, that he was speaking as a retired politician. He has also disclaimed all title of being a philosopher or a historian. But while I was listening to his two addresses, I felt time and again that it was a truly far-sighted statesman who was speaking and not a mere politician.

We in India have had very pleasant experience of his farsighted statesmanship. Even while we were engaged in our struggle for freedom, we had a full measure of his understanding and sympathy, and the moment he became Prime Minister of England, he gave us our due, and earned not only for Great Britain but for all humanity a title which should remain for ever valued title, namely Liberator. It was a wise act of statesmanship, wise both because it did us good and also because it did good to England. I can say without fear of contradiction that the relations between the United Kingdom and India were never happier than they are today and whatever our feelings might have been at one time, we have decided to lay them aside and bury them once for all, and to remember only the good and pleasant things that we have had to experience during the British period and thereafter.

His speech therefore has come to us not as a surprise but as the accumulated wisdom of a man who has gone through struggle in his own life and who has reached the highest pinnacle of glory in his own country and in the world.

While I was listening to him when he unfolded his views about the future of the United Nations and about the future of Democracy, the thought came to me again and again whether the time has not come when humanity at large should come to a decision. It has become now inevitable that if by any chance, whether international or accidental, there is another big war, the doom of humanity is certain; and therefore it is necessary to make a choice at this stage and that choice lies between violence on one side and non-violence on the other. Mahatma Gandhi used to tell us that the only hope for the individual as well as for nations lies in non-violence. It seemed to us to be an ideal which it would be impossible to achieve : but as Lord Attlee has pointed out, there are many

*Address on the 23rd February, 1961 at Azad Bhavan, New Delhi.

things which he himself and people in the country at one time thought to be highly impracticable which have been actually achieved, and among them is our own freedom: and I for one do have the faith and the vision to feel that the day will soon come when humanity will, if it chooses to live, have to abjure violence in all forms. Violence has had its innings for thousands of years. Humanity has on the whole prospered on violence. The time has come when it should choose deliberately to live and prosper on non-violence. It requires great faith and great courage. Without faith and without courage, nothing can be achieved on a large scale, and it is time that some country or other takes courage and declares disarmament unilaterally without any condition and without any expectation from others. It will have to face difficulties. We may have to be prepared for extinction but nothing lives which does not die; and unless people actually prepare themselves for extinction in this way, they will have some day to be extinct in other ways, and it is for a statesman of the type of Lord Attlee to devise ways and means which could bring about complete disarmament. Discussions are going on, but all these discussions are with a view to achieving balance of power in some form or other. The fundamental thing is to discord power, to discord violence, and unless that is achieved, the danger which faces humanity today on account of the latest developments in science and technology, will continue to face humanity.

It is really a great and good thing that statesman of the height of Lord Attlee should have taken this trouble to come over to us and to place before us his views about the way the United Nations should develop and about the future of democracy. As I have said, I believe in non-violence, non-violence in our individual relations which is only another name for what Lord Attlee has called tolerance; non-violence in society, which again will be only a kind of tolerance of others; and call it non-violence, tolerance or by any other name, if we develop that non-violence, we shall be happy and the world will be happy. If we neglect that, neither democracy will live, nor the world will prosper, and we should not be surprised if the world comes to an end.

I thank Lord Attlee for the very interesting and inspiring addresses which he has given to us, and I am sure I voice the feelings of all present here and of large numbers outside when I say that we have had the privilege of listening to a remarkable address. We shall only try to live up to the ideal of democracy which he has placed before us. We are only novices in a sense, but we have got the great example of his country and we are trying in a humble way to follow that path.

CONFERRING RECOGNITION ON ARTISTS*

It gives me great pleasure to be present once again to give away national awards instituted by the Sangeet Natak Akademi. There was a time when the establishment of the various Akademies, including yours, was generally looked upon as no more than an experiment. Now that these Akademies have got going after settling all the preliminaries, the experimental stage may be said to have terminated. They have entered now the organisational stage.

The work of the Sangeet Natak Akademi was a arduous as that of the other sister bodies. You had to lay down criteria in the light of generally accepted principles, and having done so you had to face the task of exploring talent throughout the country and conferring recognition on it wherever it was found. This work continues and is ever likely to remain a part of your programme in future as well. In so far as whatever the Akademi has accomplished has been achieved in full co-operation with all existing schools of dance and music and all the institutions concerned with the propagation of these fine arts, it must be said that your efforts have met with the desired success. Through holding annual competitions and giving national awards to those adjudged best in their respective spheres, the Sangeet Natak Akademi has made the public art-conscious and the artistes keen to improve upon their performance.

Good as it is, so far as it goes, this is only one aspect of the question. The other side of it is that of ideological or purposive approach. I take it that the idea is not only to keep music and the other arts alive as they are, but to ensure that they continue to progress and evolve themselves in keeping with the high traditions on which they are founded and in accordance with the needs which the ever-changing conditions pose. In otherwords, raising the standard and quality of performance in each case is also one of the objectives of your Akademi. It has, therefore, to strive to carry these fine arts to the highest point of perfection without, at the same time, creating any awkward gap between them and popular tastes.

These arts constitute man's emotional expression *par excellence*, and as such they are linked indissolubly with human beings. I do not think it can be disputed that, in a sense, all these arts have a didactic value which need not detract from their artistic excellence.

*Speech made while giving away National Awards at the Sangeet Natak Akademi at New Delhi on 28th February, 1961.

He who thinks that art exists entirely for art's sake is, in my opinion, as much mistaken as he who stands for commercialisation of art. To get the best out of these arts, and to develop them in the right way, we have to strike the middle path.

The Sangeet Natak Akademi, which is the principal All-India Organisation responsible for the encouragement and development of dance, drama and music as, I am glad to say, proceeded about its task methodically, though cautiously. Your plan to compile a glossary of technical terms and texts relating to Indian music, dance and drama is commendable. The utility of having such a compilation is self-evident, as this will not only facilitate a study of these arts but also their proper appreciation by the people. Equally important is your proposal of recording great living musicians of the Karnatic and Hindustani schools and filming folk dances. These are facilities denied to earlier generations but readily available to us, thanks to the development of science and technology. There is no better way of preserving what is good in music and dance.

These days we talk quite a lot of the emotional integration of our people: and rightly so, because such an integration which through collective emotional experience brings diverse elements in our society closer, will tend to strengthen the bonds of national unity. Dance, drama and music, being among the finest manifestations of emotions, provide the very stuff which encourages such integration and provides it with a secure foundation. Therefore, even from this point of view the value of these arts is considerable. Let the various schools of music flourish, specially the Karnatic and Hindustani schools, but let there be mutual appreciation of the Karnatic school in the North and the Hindustani school in the South. Such appreciation, based on emotional sanctions provided by these arts, will be as valuable as facts of history or political necessity.

India is a very big country in which one has to arrive at the concept of unity through diversity. The harmony which fine arts like music and dance provide is, to my mind, the best means of not only softening the edges of these diversities but also having through them a glimpse of the unity they lead to. Apart from this didactic aspect, music is a great force for uplifting human beings and sublimating life's coarser elements. That is why fine arts like dance and music have been closely associated with religious devotion and spiritual experience. This process of elevation can be turned both for the betterment of the individual as well as the society. One may also say that through rhythm and movement,

dance and music inculcate a discipline which helps the process of elevation.

I am very happy to meet all the veteran artists who have been chosen for national awards this year. Whatever I have said may, perhaps, be commonplace for them and most of others present here. Even if I have emphasized the obvious, let me hope it will have its own value so far as it will serve to help the common people to see music and other fine arts in the right perspective.

I would like to congratulate all those who have won this year's awards and thank the Sangeet Natak Akademi for asking me to participate in this pleasant function.

ECAFE CONFERENCE*

I have great pleasure in welcoming the delegates and observers coming from various member-countries of ECAFE and other countries to India. On behalf of the Government of India I thank you all for accepting our invitation to hold your meetings in India.

This is the second occasion that your Commission is meeting in our country, the first meeting of ECAFE having been held in India five years ago. Over these five years there has been much progress here in the various fields of development. I trust you will be able to see something of the projects established here in our Second Five-Year Plan. It has been a great effort to carry through this programme, though there have been strains and stresses. Considerable progress has been made, and we have reason to feel satisfied with it, towards building up the country and creating capacity for further growth.

We have tried to set up the large factories needed not only to manufacture basic products like steel and cement but also to promote the establishment of thousands of small enterprises in order that full use may be made of our resources all over the country. You will find many flourishing small enterprises in and around the city of Delhi. As between heavy basic industries which call for much outlay and technical know-how and small-scale industries which can be set up with much smaller resources in money and technical equipment, we have sought to strike a balance. In our plans we have tried to give due importance to both as we consider them to be inter-dependent and complementary to each other.

I know that in all the other countries of this region, efforts are similarly being made to promote economic development. The patterns of growth must necessarily vary from country to country, and, indeed, from region to region. This essential variety in patterns of development means that we can all benefit greatly by trading with one another.

The *per capita* income on some of the member countries is amongst the lowest anywhere. In India, for instance, the average income per head per annum has been estimated at \$ 64. Compare this with the \$ 1,864 of the United States or \$ 778 in U.K. Here is a sure enough index of the long distance we have to travel before we reach any tolerable standard of existence.

*Inaugural Address at the Conference of the Economic Commission for Asia and Far East on March 8, 1961.

Trade within the region has not hitherto been large for various historical reasons. Now that we are all determined to move forward in the economic field, it is time that we developed fully the inter-change of goods and services within the region. I know that your Commission is continually studying this matter and I wish your efforts all success.

In your Commission not only members of our region but also countries from outside are members. We look forward to increasing trade not only within the region but also with the rest of the world. We hope that the more developed countries of the West will co-operate with us in promoting a freer flow of goods. It would be a pity if regional arrangements were to restrict co-operation in the trade field between different regions. The active promotion of trade can play a useful part in stimulating growth in less developed areas of the world. I am not unmindful of the difficulties that stand in the way of regional economic integration. The basic differences in the political and ideological outlook of the peoples of Asia, and the low level of economic activity in the region, must inevitably make the task uphill. But despite all this, I am inclined to think that in certain fields specially, such as the promotion of intra-regional trade, the augmentation of tourism, the development of international highways and waterways, the means of communication and power potential, concerted action is bound to yield good results.

You will undoubtedly take into consideration the problems which arise in various countries, with special reference to conditions prevailing in them. It may not be therefore out of place if I mention a few considerations relating to Indian conditions as they arise in the mind of a layman.

We are engaged in building up not only basic industries but also industries generally. Whether it is in the public sector or in the private sector, there is no doubt that industrialisation on a vast unprecedented scale is on the way.

This is going to give gainful employment to increasing numbers of our people. With all this, however, agriculture will continue as far as we can see, to be the main occupation of the vast majority of our people. Any increase in employment in industries will continue to be more than counter-balanced by the tremendous increase in population. Agriculture, on the other hand, has not much room for expansion as an employment potential. The problem, therefore, which has to be tackled is : how to give gainful employment to our ever increasing population.

I have no doubt that this aspect of our problem will engage your attention as it has been constantly engaging the attention of our economists and Government. Is it possible to organize our industries and agriculture in such a way as to meet within a reasonable period this problem? Any addition to our national income on account of industries and improvement in agriculture is not likely to raise the standard of living of the mass of population unless it is of such magnitude as to more than cover the requirements of the increasing population to be fed, clothed and housed. We shall have to strike a reasonably good ratio between the increased income on the one hand and the population on the other.

The solution would appear to be that the employment potential should be raised very considerably.

This problem, I believe, is not wholly peculiar to India. That is why I have ventured to refer to it.

I know that your discussions in the past have dealt not with trade alone but also with the wider questions of methods of planning, industrial development, technical collaboration, and so on. It is indeed only by continual exchange of view on these matters and joint action wherever appropriate that the possibilities of co-operation can be fully exploited. I should like to assure you that my Government would be most happy to co-operate fully in our joint effort to raise living standards throughout the region.

An illustration of international co-operation achieved through ECAFE is the development of Mekong River Valley. This project when completed will bring prosperity to areas lying within Laos, Thailand, Cambodia and the Republic of Viet-Nam. India has been associated with this project and has provided expert advice and also some equipment like rain gauges. The United Nations set up a Committee for co-ordinating investigations of the Lower Mekong Basin and the Executive Agent of the Committee has been having discussions with the Government of India, if India could take a more active role in a specific sector of the project. I am very happy to announce that as a result of discussions with the ECAFE authorities and the authorities of the Royal Cambodian Government, Government of India have agreed to allot Rs. 12 1/2 lakhs for carrying out comprehensive examinations in order to prepare a project report including preparation of designs for a barrage in the Tonle Sap sector. The co-ordination Committee has kindly agreed to arrange equipment for which foreign exchange is required and the Royal Cambodian Government has also given an assurance as regards meeting the local costs of the experts whom

we will have to send to Cambodia in this connection. The Indian team will work in close liaison with other agencies and donors who are already associated in investigating certain parts of the project. We sincerely hope that the additional work for which India will be taking responsibility will be beneficial to the Mekong River Valley, particularly to the countries of Cambodia and the Republic of Viet-Nam.

As other illustrations of international collaboration on an extensive scale for harnessing and utilising the waters of rivers flowing through independent countries may be mentioned the agreements between Pakistan and India relating to the waters of the Indus Valley Rivers, and those between Nepal and India relating to the waters of the Kosi and the Gandak. These have not been arranged under the auspices of the ECAFE but are nonetheless important as examples of what may be hoped for and achieved by bilateral co-operation between adjoining countries having a common river system. The Indus Valley Rivers agreement have been reached largely through the mediation of the World Bank and very substantial aid by western countries, but the Nepal-India agreements have been achieved through negotiations between the governments of the two countries. I venture to think that these can well be treated as examples of inter national co-operation and collaboration in matters of common interest relating to economic development and as extensions of the kind of work that ECAFE stands for.

I know that you have a heavy agenda before you. It is my hope that the spirit of mutual accommodation and the desire to improve living conditions throughout the South East Asian region, which is your guiding light, well enable you to grapple with whatever problems or difficulties may lie in the execution of your programme. I have great pleasure in inaugurating this session of the Economic Commission for Asia and the Far East, and I shall now request you to proceed with your deliberations, to which I wish success heartily.

ROLE OF NATIONAL COUNCIL OF APPLIED ECONOMIC RESEARCH IN OUR DEVELOPMENT PROJECTS*

I am very glad to have come here today in response to the kind invitation of the National Council of Applied Economic Research for opening this building which is going to house their offices. I thank the Council for their invitation and welcome this opportunity of knowing at first hand the progress they have so far made in their undertaking and of having some idea of their present position and future plans. About four years ago I was privileged to have inaugurated the Council which has had to carry on its work so far in a rented building. The opening of this building today where its offices are going to be housed permanently symbolises another phase in the development of the Council.

It is gratifying to know that during this short period of less than four years the Council has had its hands full and that important assignments to it from the Union and State Governments and from Business Houses have maintained a steady flow. The Council has been concerned as much with the results achieved in the Public Sector as with those in the Private Sector. Its investigations thus seek to evolve uniform criteria for assessing the impact of the various development projects on the economic welfare of the people on the one hand and on the success of the projects themselves on the other. In a way, this provides a valuable co-ordinating link between the Public and the Private Sectors, which appears to me as a layman to be an essential condition of the success of our Mixed Economy policy.

Speaking from the economic and social point of view, a development project cannot be said to be an end in itself. The end is the development of the country's material resources and the improvement in our people's living conditions. Development projects are sponsored and taken in hand as means for the fulfilment of this end. It is, therefore, obvious that assessing the result or achievement of a project in the economic field and to compute its actual impact on the people has a value and importance of its own. It is for the administrator and the technologist to formulate and implement development plans. But it is for an organisation like yours to assess the actual utility of those plans with the help of field research workers and investigators. For achieving the desired end both of these operations are equally important. Evaluating or assessing achievements aims not merely at pronouncing

*Address while opening the new building of the National Council of the Applied Economic Research at New Delhi on March 27, 1961.

judgment to an implemented project. The idea is to collect necessary data to help the formation of future plans also. The work that your Council has done so far, I am sure, has provided some guidance to those who have been busy formulating our Third Five-Year Plan.

In view of these facts, I believe there can be no two opinions about the importance of the work undertaken by the National Council of Applied Economic Research. Let me hope by its objective assessment and comprehensive investigations the Council will not only able to establish itself as an indispensable link among the various agencies responsible for sponsoring and implementing our development projects, but will also provide means of ensuring that ultimately the benefit accruing from every project is commensurate with the outlay involved and in keeping with the objectives and targets fixed by our planners. I have no doubt that your Council, manned as it is by able and experienced people, will succeed in its aims and fulfil the hopes raised by its coming into being. I wish the Council success and all the luck.

I have great pleasure now in declaring the new building of the National Council of Applied Economic Research open.

NEW COLOURS FOR THE 4TH BN. THE KUMAON REGIMENT*

**General Thimayya, Colonel Kapur, Officers, JCO'S, NCO'S and
Jawans of the 4th Bn. the Kumaon Regiment:—**

I consider it a great privilege to be here this morning to present the New Colours to your Bn. The ceremony today has more than usual significance, as you are this year completing 173 years of glorious service. Yours is a long and proud history. Your Bn. has served with distinction in all parts of the world in Burma, China, Afghanistan, Palestine, Mesopotamia, Persia, Ceylon and East Africa. It is not for me to remind you that the Russel's Lion, which is your Badge, was granted as a lasting testimony of the exemplary conduct of your Regiment. It is, therefore, appropriate that these New Colours should be presented by me to act as a link between the past and the present traditions of your Bn.

These Colours bear the names of the campaigns during which your Bn. served with distinction in many spheres. These are Honours won by courage and devotion to duty by all ranks of the Regiment. I am confident that the spirit of the Regiment which has triumphed in arduous service of so many years and has endured the grim years of the last two Great Wars and Jammu and Kashmir Operations will continue in the younger generations now in the ranks. Let me add one more word. Your deeds of chivalry whether they relate to events as recent as your Peace Mission in Gaza or the Jammu and Kashmir Operations or the campaigns overseas on the turn of the century have all the qualities of inspired tradition. Officers and men come and go even as conditions of service and nomenclature are subject to change, but brave deeds and the spirit and chivalry of a Unit continue to live for ever.

In the context of India's freedom, the spirit of loyalty and sense of devotion have acquired a new significance; not only do they defy obliteration from lapse of time, they also become a perennial source of inspiring thoughts leading to deeds of valour.

The nature of your last assignment is typical of present-day world conditions and it is also symptomatic of new trends in National and International affairs. Armed Forces will continue to be, as ever before, defenders of a nation's territorial integrity, but in the changing circumstances of today the role of protectors

*Address to the 4th Bn. the Kumaon Regiment on the occasion of the presentation of New Colours to them at Ranikhet on April 8, 1961.

of peace is also gradually descending on them. You have been on the Gaza Strip on a peace assignment and will, I am sure, appreciate what I have in mind.

It will not be out of place to mention here that we have amongst us your Colonel of the Regiment, General K.S. Thimayya, who was the first Indian C.O. of this Bn. and through whose efforts this particular Bn. had won so many decorations during the last War. He is retiring shortly and I wish him and his family all the best for years to come.

I take this opportunity to congratulate you on your exemplary behaviour and the success which attended your efforts and I wish you and all the Officers and Jawans of the 4th Bn. the Kumaon Regiment still greater success and more laurels to its great traditions of service.

PUBLIC SCHOOLS*

It is a pleasure for me to have visited this institution which is so young in age but full of enthusiasm and hope about the future. Having started as a Sainik School, that is to say, a school meant only for the sons of ex-service men and of those still serving in the Armed Forces, you have now decided to convert it into a full-fledged public school by widening the basis of admissions so that sons of civilians will also be eligible for admission. I should think that this change is healthy on the whole, for a broad-based system of admission which can draw pupils from all walks of life is bound to give you a wider field to select from. It also gives an opportunity to parents belonging to different professional groups to send their children to your school.

About the high standard of education and general training provided by public schools there have never been two opinions. Public schools command greater resources and can afford to give individual attention to young scholars, besides providing a wide range of extra-curricular activities which go to supplement book knowledge. Such institutions naturally develop an exclusive character, and therein lies the dilemma of public schools. It is precisely because of this exclusiveness that they are able to take a liberal view of education and afford amenities which are beyond the reach of ordinary schools. On the other hand, it is also true that because such schools are exclusive they cannot hope to become popular institutions. The best way to resolve this dilemma is to relax the bonds of exclusiveness as far as possible by throwing open admission to all classes and groups of people and also bringing down the cost of education. There was a time when a large number of public schools in India functioned exclusively for the sons or relations of former Indian ruling chiefs or the landed aristocracy. Changing conditions, however, compelled them to revise the rules of admission and throw the said institutions open to sons of the common people who could afford to foot the bill of such education. Those connected with public schools are in the best position to judge the impact of this change on their educational standards and general standing. As far as I know, this change has been for the good, if the ever-increasing number of public schools in India and the mounting pressure for admission are any guide.

Another question which arises in connection with public schools is mainly economic and, to some extent, social. In the

*Speech at the Punjab Public School, Nabha on April 11, 1961.

very nature of things good education is bound to be expensive. Nevertheless, it has to be encouraged. The only thing is that for the present at least it will have to depend largely on non-official resources, for the State is grappling with a bigger problem, the spread of literacy, which is a question of far bigger and wider import for the Nation. As things stand, the Government does not have enough resources to cope with the demand for general and technical education. It will, therefore, be too much to expect from it any appreciable outlay on the provision of public school education at a time when it is grappling with the gigantic task of providing ordinary facilities of learning to millions of people who have so far never had any schooling within their reach.

I do not suggest that quality should necessarily be sacrificed for the sake of quantity or that it can be desirable to do so. I have merely stated our limitations. Till such time as minimum reasonable educational facilities are provided for the people as a whole, the Government cannot be expected to burden itself with the responsibility of running public schools. Yet I think it is possible to encourage public school education and to harmonize the two demands in respect of quality and quantity. It is open to the Government to lend its good offices and offer whatever help it can to let such institutions stand on their feet. This is what the Punjab Government has done in this case.

This school which is mainly financed by the Post-War Services Reconstruction Fund and which aims at providing educational facilities to sons of ex-service and serving men deserves all possible help from the Government and the public. I am glad the Punjab Government has come forward to offer such help in an adequate measure. I have every hope that this institution will soon catch up with similar schools in Punjab and elsewhere and will continue to grow from strength to strength in the service of the youth and the country at large.

NATIONAL DISCIPLINE SCHEME*

I am glad to have come here at Shri Bhonsle's invitation and to have met all of you and seen this Training Centre. No doubt is left in any one's mind after seeing this scheme in actual action and knowing its detailed programme. Ours is a big country, and so are our problems. We often hear people say that the people of such and such country are very disciplined and that in their everyday life they behave like the citizens of a civilized country. People start in this way comparing the peoples of other countries with those of our own. It is, therefore, very essential to understand as to what exactly we are doing or proposing to do for raising the level of the Indian society. We must also know all our resources, limitations and difficulties in implementing such plans.

As I said just now, India is a vast country with a population of over 40 crores. In our Union we have several constituent States speaking different languages, having different customs and traditions, and perhaps, having different standards of living. It is not easy to implement a plan of social reconstruction in such a society. But we are determined to do so, and whatever the difficulties, we must get over them. We know that the development of material resources of a nation can bring about prosperity and may be, it can remove poverty; but economic prosperity need not necessarily improve the social standards of its people. We believe that to improve the social condition of our people is as essential as the establishment of new industries and the damming of turbulent rivers. No well-wisher of the country can assign social well-being of our people to a secondary place. That is why we consider all plans calculated to foster a sense of discipline in our youth as important from the point of view of national reconstruction. The youth for whom the National Discipline Scheme is being run are, in the true sense of the word, our nation's backbone. To bestow care on them and to create a healthy outlook in them would mean solving for our future generation some of those problems with which we are today grappling.

It need hardly be said that discipline is closely connected with the mind and the body. If through right kind of activity juvenile energy is diverted into proper channels, it would be conducive to developing a sense of discipline. To keep busy according to a well-thoughtout programme also makes for enthusiasm from which spring hope and inspiration. That is how the foundations of

*Speech at the Training Camp, National Discipline Scheme at Sariska (Alwar) on April 16, 1961.

discipline are laid in human minds. I admit that this work calls for hard and arduous work, and because it is by no means glamorous, it may not be attractive for all. But none of these factors detract from this great importance. How far we are able to inspire our youth with discipline and good conduct would depend ultimately on the successful implementation of this Scheme and other similar youth welfare plans. I am particularly happy that this Scheme does not lay stress only on physical exercises but also aims at mental development of boys and girls. In actual fact, in case of young people, physical and mental development are not mutually exclusive processes, but still it is essential to emphasize the development of both of these faculties.

There are some other youth welfare schemes which we have taken in hand, as for example, scouting, the N.C.C. and the A.C.C. All of these organisations aim at infusing discipline among our youth. I would like all of them to work in a co-ordinated manner so as to get the best out of each one of them. It may also mean economy and avoidance of duplication, if any. I do not know whether these various schemes are related to one another, and if so, to what extent, but seeing that all of them are being directed by the Union Government, I do not visualise co-ordination would present any difficulty. Our object should be that these schemes are run in an effective manner so as to yield the maximum benefit to our youth.

Whatever I have seen here today gives hope. On this occasion, let me congratulate Shri J. K. Bhonsle, Director-General of the National Discipline Scheme. I hope that this constructive work will continue to progress. I am glad to know that 8 States have already joined this Scheme and that the remaining ones are also likely to come within its purview soon.

And now I would like to say one word to the Instructors who are getting training here. You must not forget that the work which has brought you here is of national importance. When you go back to your respective States, you have to impart this training to the youth of those places. It is a great responsibility which you have taken upon yourself. It is my hope that while discharging this responsibility you will ever keep the future of the country and the objects of this Scheme in mind. I am grateful to Shri Bhonsle at whose instance I have come here today and got this opportunity of meeting all of you.

IDEALS OF RED CROSS IN ACCORD WITH TRADITIONS OF INDIAN LIFE AND TEACHING*

It is always a pleasure to me to preside over these Annual General Meetings of the St. John and the Red Cross, and to welcome this gathering of delegates from all parts of India. All of you have demonstrated your enthusiasm for the work which the societies represent, by giving this work your time and energy.

I have listened with attention to the interesting summaries of the reports which have just been presented to us by Rajkumari Amrit Kaur and there is every cause for satisfaction with the work that these reports reveal.

I am glad to know of the record progress made in the instructional work of the St. John Ambulance Association and of the improvement in the number of Brigade Divisions. It is also heartening that we have now more Nursing Divisions than before, a welcome sign that our young women are taking a keen interest in St. John work. I also wish to express my appreciation of the service of the officers and members of the St. John Ambulance Brigade, who, I am happy to note, have rendered first aid to thousands of injured persons at fairs, festivals and other large gatherings.

The activities of the Indian Red Cross Society during the year under review reveal a praiseworthy awareness of the high ideals of the organisation. It is really commendable that in spite of its preoccupations within India, the Society readily responded to the call of the Congo in distress and sent a medical team to serve in that distant and troubled country. I am also glad that consistent with its position as one of the most progressive national Societies, our Society is taking an active part in the counsels of the International Red Cross.

As in previous years, the Society did excellent work for the relief of the victims of floods in the country. Undaunted by adverse conditions of distances, limited resources and inadequate personnels it took effective steps to meet emergent situations and unexpected demands. The substantial assistance generously received from sister Societies at this time of need provided another proof of the fundamental unity that animates the Red Cross movement. It is also gratifying that our Society was able to extend help to Red Cross Societies faced with disasters in other parts of the world.

*Address at the Annual General Meetings of the Red Cross Society and the St. John Ambulance Association on April 25, 1961.

I think the valuable services rendered to the women and children of India by the Society's maternal and child welfare services deserve better recognition. It is also pleasing to learn in this connection that the Red Cross Centres for the provision of such services to the people in the backward areas of Tehri-Garhwal in Uttar Pradesh are functioning satisfactorily.

The Society was able to continue its valuable services to the Defence personnel, over four lakhs of rupees having been spent from its headquarters funds for providing amenity stores to Service patients and for looking after permanently disabled ex-servicemen at the Bangalore Red Cross Home.

No organisation can continue to progress and consolidate its position unless it enlists the interest of the young people in its programmes and ideals. I am, therefore, happy to note that special attention is directed towards the development of the Junior Red Cross which has at present within its fold twenty-five lakhs of school girls and boys who are being trained to become good citizens imbued with the spirit of the Red Cross.

I am happy to hear that the plan for setting up a Red Cross Blood Bank in Delhi is making progress and I appreciate this farsighted programme of the Red Cross, which, when it finally takes shape, will provide a much-needed, life-saving service to the people of the Capital.

Before concluding let me congratulate you on the good work you have done so far. The Red Cross is a great international institution established in all civilised countries, commanding respect and homage of millions. Human sympathy and devotion to service of mankind constitute its sole basis. The ideas of the Red Cross are also closely in accord with the traditions of Indian life and teaching. As such I feel sure that the Red Cross in India will receive increasing support from our people to enable it to carry on more effectively its mission of mercy.

CONTROL OF LEPROSY*

It gives me great pleasure to welcome you all and to share with you your thoughts and hopes. I am thankful to Rajkumari Amrit Kaur for the inspiring survey of leprosy work in this country and abroad that she has given us. I would like also to offer her on my behalf and on behalf of you all my sincere congratulations on the high honour she has this year received in Rome at the International Conference of social work the Rene Sand Memorial Award for her outstanding work in the fields of public health and social service.

Suffering units mankind in a peculiar way. The world-wide problem of leprosy has therefore evoked both national and international action. These endeavours are inspired by a growing awareness of the tremendous possibilities of not only bringing a new life of health and happiness to millions of patients, but also of conquering at no distant date one of the oldest and most sorrowful of man's afflictions.

I wish to pay my tribute to all those who are working in different parts of the world in this mission of mercy, stretching out the hand of fellowship to the sufferers irrespective of country, race or creed. I feel gratified to note that there is increasing collaboration between government and voluntary agencies in the matter of leprosy control work. The welfare state is comparatively a new phenomenon in history. The state is more and more coming forward to do what was formerly attempted either by charitably-minded individuals or by private charitable institutions. The number and size of our health and social problems are such that private philanthropy alone can no longer cope with them, though the need for voluntary effort will always be there. In fact, this need is all the greater in order that a vivid awareness of social need may be kept continually alive in Government as well as amongst the people. I appeal to philanthropists and, our citizens in general, to come forward to foster the growth of voluntary work in this rewarding service. We are today presented with unparalleled opportunities to rid mankind of an ancient scourge. It is my hope and prayer that we may take full advantage of these opportunities.

I wish you all increased opportunities of service and the great joy that comes of service in a great cause.

*Address at the Annual General meeting of the Hind Kusht Nivaran Sangh on the 25th April, 1961.

TRIBUTE TO PT. MOTILAL NEHRU*

It is a privilege to be associated with a function like this. I entirely agree with you that the credit for organising not only this function but functions like this in other places also goes entirely to Mr. Mohan Lal Saxena. From the very day he thought of this, he has been in constant touch with me and although I cannot claim credit for having contributed much or anything at all to the work which he has accomplished, I have had this advantage that I have known the whole thing developing day to day and the time and attention which he has been giving to all this. It is unnecessary for me to say much about Pt. Motilalji at this stage. You have, Mr. Vice-President, said that at the end he told Mahatma Gandhi something about Swaraj not being attained. I tell you one incident of a very much earlier stage which happened to me. When Swaraj was not visible even in the distance and when we were all still engaged in the struggle, one day, I was having a talk with him in a somewhat depressed mood and he said to me: "you are young, do not worry. I shall live to see Swaraj established and to become the first President of the Republic of India". That was his optimism at that stage and that was the determination with which he worked throughout his life. So long as he lived he worked with that spirit and determination and no wonder that it did not take more than 16 years after him for that goal to be reached because it was reached only 16 years after he had passed away. So, it is the service, the sacrifice and the determination of Pt. Motilal Nehru and others like him that has enabled us to win Swaraj and to have freedom in this country. All that we can do at the present moment is to remember their services not only by way of gratitude but by way of inspiration for further work because there is much still that remains to be done to make the Swaraj which we have won meaningful and useful to the people. The work which we are doing today is in some respects more different because it does not apparently call for the same amount of sacrifices. But my own feeling is that it calls for sacrifices and perhaps the same sacrifices which were called for during the period of freedom struggle and therefore it is necessary to remember always and to keep before our mind's eye the noble examples of men like Pt. Motilalji so that we may be sustained in our efforts for attaining all that we want.

I am very happy that it has been possible to organise, this function not only in Delhi but in other places, and also in Allahabad.

*Speech at the time of presentation of books by Motilal Nehru Centenary Celebration Committee at Rashtrapati Bhawan on 6th May, 1961.

The Vice-President was there, I was there yesterday in connection with a similar function there and the Prime Minister was also there earlier. I know there are other places also where functions like this are being held. It is all for the good and it speaks well of those who are taking interest in it because it means that they realise that one can get guidance and inspiration from those sacrifices.

I thank you for the books which you have given to me. I will certainly read them.

MOTILAL NEHRU CENTENARY*

It is a memorable year in our history, for in this year fall the birth centenaries of three great Indians—Pt. Motilal Nehru, Poet Rabindranath Tagore and Pt. Madan Mohan Malaviya. On this day 100 years ago Pandit Motilal was born. During these years India has undergone innumerable changes in many vital spheres of her life, and his contribution in bringing about these changes is quite considerable.

In the earlier phase of our freedom struggle under Gandhiji's leadership, Pandit Motilal was among the foremost national leaders who dominated the political scene by virtue of their personal qualities and the sufferings and sacrifices they gladly underwent for the country's cause. On this day we should remember this great leader whom many of us living today were privileged to know from close. Motilalji was a great patriot and on account of his services to the country he will ever be reckoned among the builders of modern India and one of our national heroes.

I would also take this opportunity of appreciating the work which the Motilal Nehru Memorial Committee has been doing to keep his memory alive.

*Broadcast talk on the occasion of Motilal Nehru Centenary celebrations on 6th May, 1961.

OPENING OF RABINDRA BHAVAN*

It is indeed an inspiring thought to have named this building after the great poet, artist and thinker, Rabindranath Tagore, for this place is going to house the three Akademies which among themselves cover nearly the entire field of Indian art and culture. Even as one tries to look back, it would be hard to recall such happy names given to buildings, self-explanatory in respect of functions and inspiring from the point of view of the ideal to be aimed at. The design and architectural excellence of this building have further added to the general harmonizing effect. It was my privilege to lay the foundation-stone of this building about two years ago and I am happy to have come here again in response to Dr. Humayun Kabir's kind invitation to open it.

The advent of Rabindranath Tagore on India's literary and cultural stage is an epoch, the impact of which, in terms of literary activity and cultural renaissance, has been widely felt and still continues to be felt. Rabindranath was fortunate in the time of his coming. He had imbibed the spirit of his times. He was lucky to have been placed in affluent circumstances and, in a sense, he may be said to have inherited greatness. The combination of so many favourable factors goes some distance to explain the flowering of Tagore's genius, but only some distance, because there was something inherent in the poet's personality without reference to which his own monumental works and his still greater contribution to the enrichment of Indian literature can never be explained. Rabindranath was great in his own right, by virtue of his own genius and *sadhana*. When one thinks of him and tries to assess his contribution, one is inevitably drawn towards his works.

Bengal is often referred to as the fore-runner of Indian nationalism in the modern era. It is without doubt true that many of the things and events of the 19th century that we cherish today came to us from Bengal. Thoughts that sprouted into political awakening and which laid emphasis on the unity of India, the urgency of social reform and the need to imbibe in our own body of thought some of the trends of western education and enlightenment, flowed, first of all from the soil of Bengal, and the great necessity of finding out national personality through the medium of our own languages found articulate expression very largely in Bengal. In all important spheres of life we owe so much to the early contribution of the galaxy of

*Address while opening Rabindra Bhavan at New Delhi, May 7, 1961.

Bengali leaders from Raja, Ram Mohan Roy down to Rabindranath Tagore.

It was, however, given to Tagore to be an effective link between the 19th and the 20th centuries between which his life was almost equally divided. Having imbibed the teachings of his great precursors, Rabindranath interpreted for us the true spirit of our cultural heritage. In his own way he became the spear-head of the forces of freedom from bondage, bondage from the past and also from the present. For, let it not be forgotten, he did not accept without questioning all that modern education and western culture stand for. He stood for a real and workable synthesis of the two streams of thought, eastern and western. This idea had such a dominant hold on his mind that he lost no opportunity of enunciating it in the finest of verse and in most forceful prose. Mere words, however, did not satisfy him. He laid the foundation of Santiniketan in 1921 in order to give material shape to his dreams and ideals in the matter of education. Twenty years of thinking had preceded this, because the school at Santiniketan had been founded in 1901. Actually it is from this year that a new period may be said to have begun in Rabindranath's life. As one of his biographers says, he felt restless, as if he were seeking his way, as if the time were coming for him to make a new start in life, with some new work or adventure. It was in this year when the school had been founded that Rabindranath went to live at Santiniketan with his family, and remained his home till his last day.

Although I was privileged to pick up a little working knowledge of the Bengali language during my student days in Calcutta, I cannot claim to be a student of Tagore's writings. But not one living in Calcutta or for that matter anywhere in Bengal in those days could have escaped the spell that Tagore's personality and his poetry cast all round. What impressed me most is the depth of his thought or feeling and its universal character. Tagore's genius rebelled against all kinds of artificial barriers. In India it manifested itself against the rigidity of the caste system and in the international world against the colour bar. It was perhaps for this reason that he could never persuade himself to visit Africa where colour bar was being practised, though he had occasion to go overseas and visit other countries several times in his life. His concept of the motherland was that of a beautiful garden where trees of different kinds grow, lending charm to one another. It would be right to say that Rabindranath was the best exponent of the

theme of unity in diversity. Our national anthem is just one example of the way he loved to think of India. I am inclined to think that while our political leaders, Gandhiji being foremost amongst them, gave us political awakening and showed us the way to freedom, it was Rabindranath Tagore who gave emotional content to our yearning to be free and to forge ahead.

I need hardly say anything about Rabindranath's genius as a poet, a man of letters and an artist. There are so many others here much better qualified to dwell on this aspect of his contribution. I am sure that all those connected with our three Akadamies which are going to be housed in this building will draw inspiration from Rabindranath's life and his works. I am glad that the main part of the building has been practically completed in time so that its opening has synchronised with the celebration of the Tagore Centenary throughout the country.

I have great pleasure in declaring Rabindra Bhawan open.

“FILMFARE” AWARDS*

I have been associated with similar functions when National Awards are given away to films, actors and actresses adjudged best by a committee of experts on behalf of the Union Ministry of Information and Broadcasting. I welcome this opportunity of being present here this evening because this function has been organised by the Filmfare, a private enterprise which may be taken as a wing of the film industry. India's film industry which in respect of capital investment and actual output is probably the second or third biggest in the world falls entirely in the private sector. The Government's effort is confined to the production of documentaries, special feature films and children's films.

All that the Government does in respect of the films produced by private producers is to regulate their production in two ways. Firstly, there is industrial regulation, that is to say, regulation in respect of the import and use of raw film, and other rules and regulations governing the shooting and exhibition of films. Secondly, Government has sought to regulate films from the social and moral point of view. While both the standpoints are important, there is reason to attach greater importance to the moral or social regulation in national interest.

It would be needless for me to say what a deep impression films make on the human mind, particularly on people of impressionable age. The role of the cinema in moulding people's character and suggesting patterns of behaviour is, therefore, of great importance. Like the Press and broadcasting, cinema, too is a medium of great potentiality which influences people's thought and action. Strenuous efforts have to be made by the industry itself to improve the quality of recreation by providing right kind of films which have all the qualities of art and entertainment but abjure what may be called the sensuous and the lascivious appeal.

Cinema is a powerful medium of mass communication and plays a significant role in influencing the morals and behaviour of the people. Regulating the films so as to bring them into line with the approved pattern of moral ideals and social conduct is, therefore, an obligation which the Government cannot escape. Howsoever unpleasant for the censors or irksome for the industry, censorship of films has to be taken up by Government as a matter of duty in the interest of the people of the country.

*Speech on the occasion of giving away "Filmfare" awards at Bombay on June 18, 1961.

There is no reason to believe that such a step would necessarily be to the detriment of the film industry.

I am somewhat surprised and feel unhappy to know that our film industry has never taken kindly to censorship and has, in fact, been trying to soften it and, as far as possible, to make it ineffective. If it were argued that the operation of censorship deviates from the generally accepted norms of art or popular entertainment or that our censors take too harsh or circumscribed a view of art, one could understand it. But to hold that censorship of any kind is an irksome process and necessarily motivated by the idea of mutilating films or making them dull by depriving them of their entertainment value, does not seem to me to be the correct view.

There are many who think that juvenile delinquency and a certain type of crimes have increased, at least partly, on account of certain films which have been exhibited in this country for years. Whatever the truth, there is no doubt that while a large number of good films have imparted welcome ideas and provided healthy recreation to cinema-goers, films of the objectionable type have had a deleterious effect on the minds of our people, particularly boys and girls. It has been thought necessary for that reason to wean children from the cinema and one of the means of doing so effectively is to provide alternative films for them. Incidentally, the Children's Film Society owes its origin to this idea. The Society has produced moderately good films for children. Let me hope the film industry will also keep these juvenile patrons' requirements in view and try to produce films or at least appropriate skits which may be interesting and instructive to children. Let me also hope that the Children's Film Society will continue to receive from the film industry and others all possible co-operation in its work.

I am glad to be present at this evening's function which is so representative of India's Motion Picture industry. The "Filmfare" awards which were instituted almost at the same time as the State Awards, have the same object and fulfil the same purpose—encouraging film-makers to improve their production and making the film industry and cinema-goers conscious of one another's needs and obligations. I am happy to know that the "Filmfare" Awards have been gaining popularity every year and may be said to have contributed towards raising the standard of Indian films. As the industry progresses and its output increases, let me hope the industry and others connected with it in any way will realise that commercial success is good and enduring only

when it is tempered by considerations of people's weal and its pace is determined by the ultimate good of the society. I am sure the "Filmfare" will stress this point and use its publicity media for making this ideal a bye-word of film industry.

Let me close this with an earnest appeal to film producers to realise this great responsibility to the people who patronise them and even more to society at large. They should always bear in mind our age-old traditions and the high place our history and culture have given to morals and do nothing which would in the least swerve from the path of rectitude even in the interest of so-called art and much less for winning cheap popularity and commanding large audiences at the cost of higher values.

I thank the organisers of this function to have given me the opportunity of saying a few words on this important subject. I would offer my congratulations to all those who have been the recipients of awards this evening.

MONUMENT IN MEMORY OF SHIVAJI*

I am grateful to the Chief Minister of Maharashtra, Shri Yashwantrao Chavan and the Municipal Corporation of Poona for their kind invitation to unveil the oil painting of Shivaji Maharaj, and thus giving me an opportunity of saying something about Poona and the situation in the country at large. As I have said many times before, I am not unfamiliar with Poona; far from being so I feel that with the passage of time my connection with this town is gradually becoming intimate. It can be ascribed of course to Poona's excellent climate, but also in an equal measure to the Government of Maharashtra, particularly its hospitable Governor and Chief Minister. The Mayor, Shri Karad, has rightly said that Poona has ever been attracting people from all parts of the country, and this attraction has become all the greater today because of the many civic amenities provided by the Corporation and the opportunities offered by Poona's industrialisation. I have no doubt in my mind that before long Poona will be counted among India's biggest towns. Thanks to the Municipal Corporation, the educational and public health facilities available in Poona are in keeping with its salubrious climate. The Mayor and other members of the Corporation are deserving of our congratulations on it.

Let me now say a few words about the main purpose for which this function has been organised. Chhatrapati Shivaji Maharaj occupies a special place in the history of Poona. The early years of Shivaji Maharaj when he was shaping as a great warrior and organiser were spent in Poona. The rugged hills scattered over the landscape of the Maratha country and the many forts streamlining their tops bear witness even today to his greatness and farsightedness. These incidents of history have left their indelible imprint on Poona and the neighbouring areas. It was as a result of his patronage bestowed on this town that Poona could emerge from the limbo of many centuries' oblivion and come into its own. That paved the way to Poona's future greatness. This is a debt which this town owes to Shivaji Maharaj. As for the debt that the whole of Maharashtra and India owe him, it is for the historian to assess it. As Shri Karad has said, Chhatrapati Shivaji was truly the builder of an epoch in our history. His genius and achievements blazed a trail which lighted the path of Maharashtra and the rest of the country at the moment of darkness.

*Speech made while unveiling the oil painting of Shivaji Maharaj at a public function in Poona on June 25, 1961.

I do not think a student of history on coming here can possibly resist the temptation of looking back, for the very hills seem to echo the noise of Shivaji's military expeditions just as the tales of his patriotic fervour, his liberal attitude towards all and his many leaderlike qualities are still prevalent all over this region. Whatever view one might hold of history, it cannot be gainsaid that it provides the unfailing touchstone for testing the greatness of men and social institutions. With the help of time and strict objectivity, history manages to pronounce on men and things a verdict that is seldom wrong. We know of examples of Kings and Empire builders who inspired awe and were considered great in their life time, but at the hands of history their greatness melted away. Similarly we come across people who could never achieve fame while they lived but whom history exhumed, as it were, from their graves and raised sky-high. Seen from this point of view also Shivaji Maharaj counts among the greatest of men. He was able to gather a good deal of fame and popularity in his life time, but the passage of these 300 years has further added to his fame and glory of his achievements.

Sense of history among a people is a great national quality. It is this feeling which lays the foundation of social organisation and leads to the greatness of nations. When I went round the U.S.S.R. during my State visit there last year, I was somewhat surprised to see the strong sense of history of the Russian people. Those people view all historical events of the past with great respect. They have no doubt erected innumerable monuments in the memory of Communist leaders like Lenin and Stalin, but they have not overlooked any historical event featuring in the history of Russia during the last 2,000 years. In Kiev, Samarkand and other ancient towns they are busy carrying out excavations and renovating old monuments. Historical museums are assigned a place of great prominence in all Russian towns. I think we must also in this country cultivate this sense of history. In the past we have been woefully deficient in this, which explains the fact that although we have inherited a great literature, there are wide gaps in our history. It is this drawback which is responsible for our inadequate knowledge of certain important events and some great personages in our history. Shivaji Maharaj is one of those great men whose life and work were a turning point in our country's history. Whatever, therefore, we do write or say about Chhatrapati Shivaji or do to keep his memory alive is a matter of honour for India. But may I say that we must also learn a lesson from the lives of such great nation-builders? Remaining faithful to our past history and alive to the present trends, we

have to present a balanced view of India's history to the people. Our people have not only to acquaint themselves with the country's history, they have also to learn from it the lessons it offers. Today as we are in the midst of the gigantic task of national reconstruction and when India has begun to be looked upon with respect by countries of the world, we are confronted with certain trends that are disturbing. Once again history has brought India to a crossing of the roads. We must turn to the right path. If, Heaven forbid, we commit any mistake at this critical juncture, all our hopes may be belied, our aspirations dashed to the ground and our very national unity put in jeopardy. Let us learn something from history and realise our duty to place India and her interests above everything else.

Therefore, it gives me great pleasure to see that the people of Maharashtra are doing much to keep the sense of history alive and to honour its heroes. There is need today to imbibe in our lives Shivaji's ideals. High personal character, religious tolerance and a burning patriotism were foremost among them. While paying our tribute to his memory by raising monuments, we should also think it to be our duty to live up to his great ideals.

Once again I would like to express my gratitude to the Poona Municipal Corporation for having asked me to unveil this oil-painting of Shivaji Maharaj. Let me also offer my congratulations to the Mayor and the artist, Shri Rege, who prepared this painting.

FELICITATIONS TO DR. B. C. ROY*

It is always a pleasure to felicitate a friend on the occasion of his birthday and to wish him many more happy returns of the same; but when the recipient of such felicitations happens to be a close friend and an eminent public leader of long standing, the pleasure of offering them is enhanced manifold. Therefore, I feel overjoyed today in offering my congratulations and all good wishes to Dr. Bidhan Chandra Roy on his 80th birthday.

We have known each other for the last about 40 years. Our common aims and pursuits in the political field would have in any case brought us close, turning the first acquaintance into friendship. But in my case there was another impelling reason to seek his company whenever possible. The natural affinity between a patient and a good doctor forged new links between us ! I would like to mention another thing in this connection that has often struck us both. Dr. Bidhan Chandra Roy is a Bengali who spent the early years of his life in Bihar, while I am a Bihari who spent the most impressionable years of my life in Bengal, in the Calcutta University and later on in the Calcutta High Court. So I have reason to believe that we know each other particularly well.

Dr. Roy is one of India's foremost and most eminent leaders, but, truth to tell, eminence had come to him much before he became a leader. Leadership of the public came to Dr. Roy after he had exceptional eminence and countrywide fame as a medical man. In that field too, it was not merely his knowledge and practice of medicine but his personal qualities and generous disposition which earned him reputation. After coming into the arena of public service and joining the great movement for Swaraj, Dr. Bidhan Chandra Roy applied all his capacities and personal qualities to his new self-imposed assignment. But he did not transfer all his loyalties from medicine to politics. I am sure he has not done it even today, for even in this advanced age and with limitless preoccupations he continues to devote at least an hour or two every day to seeing patients at his residence. It was given to Dr. Roy to rise to the same heights in the field of public work as he had known in the sphere of medicine. He is equally devoted to both the callings, which are not only compatible but also complimentary. For, is he not best suited to provide for the healthy when he is so capable to look after the sick ?

*Speech on the occasion of Dr. B. C. Roy's Birthday at Calcutta on July 1, 1961.

I do not think I can dwell with any apparent advantage on his stewardship of the affairs of State in West Bengal. Most of you know it as well as, if not better than, I do. All parts of India have had to face all kinds of problems, known and unknown, soon after we assumed power after Independence. West Bengal's share of these problems and the chill winds which generally herald them, has been unfortunately more than that of an average State in India. It is his leadership as its Chief Minister and its devoted public worker which has been the single weightiest factor in giving stability to West Bengal. Like the Punjab and our north-west region, West Bengal has been deeply affected by the post-Independence conditions. Today, after nearly 14 years of India's partition, West Bengal faces good many intricate and complicated problems born directly of the fact of our country's division. As an inalienable part of India, West Bengal can depend on all possible help from the Union Government and the country as a whole, and in fact it has ever got it, yet it would be no exaggeration to say that it is Dr. Bidhan Chandra Roy's leadership of the State which has enabled West Bengal to face its difficulties.

Dr. Bidhan Chandra Roy's life should be an object lesson for our people in general and the youth of India in particular. In all the spheres which he chose for himself, he worked his way up by sheer dint of perseverance and hard work. He has ever been known for his indefatigable energy and unremitting application to whatever he takes into his hand. Even at this age Dr. Roy is known to be working for more than 10 hours a day. If one looks at it objectively it will be found that the secret of Dr. Roy's success lies in his giving exclusive attention to the work before him. He does not believe in beating about the bush or in talking unnecessarily about what he is doing. He is one of those Chief Ministers of our States who rarely feature in news. He devotes so much personal attention to his duties that even a place like New Delhi he visits only when he must. Now and then he is called upon to visit the Union Capital in response to an SOS from a V.I.P. lying dangerously ill.

Dr. Roy's constructive mind and keen intellect often react forcefully to the surroundings. On such occasions he comes out with definite proposals for tackling a given situation. How far such proposals are found workable and eventually accepted by the parties concerned is not of much consequence. What matters is the capacity to come out with courage and break the ice. It has its own advantages insofar as such an attitude forces a controversy out of narrow grooves and invariably carries it to a higher

plane. Whatever the outcome of such efforts, their contribution in stirring up people's thought and making them conscious of the existence of a problem and the urgency of finding out a solution cannot be denied.

Although we have had independence for over twelve years, we cannot claim that we have succeeded in establishing and bringing about a complete coordination and integration of divergent forces under a compelling realisation of nationhood, which can and does afford to ignore differences and even contradictions. This realisation of nationhood places the interest of the nation as a whole above all sectional considerations, whether they arise on account of difference of language, of region, of religion or even of economic stratification and political ideology. The problem has to be tackled in all seriousness. Its satisfactory solution will be a sure guarantee not only of the unity of the country but also of its freedom.

It is time that the nation and its leaders put their heads together and evolved once for all a code of conduct to be followed by all administrations, parties and the public generally for resolving differences which arise. It is not suggested that a clear and well-defined policy on this issue is not already in existence. But seeing that troubles continue to raise their head, what we need is a reappraisal of the situation. We have either to evolve a new code or devise ways and means of applying the existing policy to current disputes with greater force and success. My own feeling is that in a multilingual and heterogeneous country like India the best way of ensuring peaceful solution of such internal disputes is to cultivate the spirit of true nationalism and mutual tolerance. Most problems will solve themselves and most differences will resolve themselves if everyone laid less emphasis on the enforcement of his rights and more on the duty of accommodating others. We must learn to live and let live and we must present to the world a perfect example of respect for points of view other than our own. Once we have developed this way of thinking, we shall get rid of confusion which now seems to obstruct our vision. Full faith in the future of the Indian nation and unquestioned acceptance of the supremacy of national over sectional interests is our foremost requirement.

It gives me the greatest pleasure to join the people and the numerous associations of West Bengal and outside in offering our heartiest felicitations to Dr. Bidhan Chandra Roy and wishing him many more years of personal happiness and national service. I also wish him *bon voyage*, for he is leaving for Europe tonight.

PROPAGATION OF SANSKRIT: A BASIS OF CULTURAL UNITY IN INDIA*

I am thankful to Shri Datar and the organisers of this Sammelan for their kind invitation to me to inaugurate it. For many years I have been interested in Sanskrit literature and have sought to do now and then whatever lay in my power to encourage its study in our country. With the Sanskrit Vishva Parishat I have been connected since the very inception of that organisation and I have taken part in many of its annual conferences. This Sammelan has the same aims and objects as the Vishva Parishat. I feel, therefore, happy to have been able to participate in this function.

Study of any language and the acquiring of knowledge through it is desirable in itself, but there are special reasons for advocating the study of Sanskrit and popularising it in the country. Sanskrit, it seems to me, is not just a language and its literature is not merely a collection of works of writers through the ages. It is, in fact, that literature in which India's real soul is reflected. In Sanskrit literature alone and nowhere else can one get a glimpse of Indian life, Indian thought, the genesis of our social customs and religious traditions and the evolution of Indian cultural trends over thousands of years. In other words, the history of Sanskrit language and literature encompasses the history of our social institutions and our intellectual growth. During the last 4,000 years we have known the growth and development of many languages in this country, but, with the possible exception of the South Indian languages, there is no other language except Sanskrit which has survived up to this day or which may have gained country-wide popularity. The truth is that almost all those languages sprang up from Sanskrit like the branches of one tree and while they lived they continued to draw sustenance from one common source, the roots of that very tree. In a way, therefore, the history of Sanskrit is also the history of the rise and growth of all those languages.

There is another peculiarity of Sanskrit which cannot be overlooked. There was a time in our country's history when our thought and culture spread to nearly all the countries of Asia, and with this process Sanskrit and a few other tongues of its family also travelled to those foreign lands. This has made Sanskrit a language of international interest and study for centuries, linking it with the history of those countries. In many of these lands arrangements for the study of Sanskrit still exist and it is a matter

*Speech on the occasion of the inauguration of All India Sanskrit Sahitya Sammelan (26th session) at Calcutta on 2nd July, 1961.

for gratification that of late there have been signs of improvement in these arrangements. In nearly all the countries of South East Asia, Central Asia and in the neighbouring countries of Nepal and Afghanistan, local universities have provided for the study of Sanskrit.

From our point of view, however, the most important feature of Sanskrit is that throughout our long and chequered history it has forged for our people living in different regions and speaking different tongues a kind of cultural unity. India has been passing through changes, it has witnessed all kinds of upheavals and revolutions leaving their imprint on the thought and lives of our people, but none of those upheavals could do much damage to that framework of cultural unity. It is possible that now and then certain links in that chain of unity got loosened, but nothing could tear it asunder, thanks to the deep impression Sanskrit has made on our people's lives and on things man holds dearest to his heart. The mould in which our innermost convictions, our faith and our ideals were cast was provided by Sanskrit and even today they are best expressed through it. Whether he knows Sanskrit or not, an Indian keeps on drawing on this source of inspiration unwittingly. It is for these reasons that Sanskrit has not been looked upon in this country merely as a language. It has in effect been an institution for our people, an institution which has gone a long way in moulding individual and social thought in this country and in determining the pattern of our national life.

It seems unnecessary to dwell on the utility of studying a language of such importance. Indian and foreign scholars have said much about the importance of Sanskrit. All of them are at one that it is a rich language and that its vocabulary is limitless, for which reason it has been recognised to be an inexhaustible source for the coining of new words and expressions on all subjects. Merely dwelling on the greatness of Sanskrit literature is not enough. What is needed is that we do something to make this invaluable heritage easy of access to our people. It has taken many selfless scholars and devoted students to enrich this treasure in the face of privations and hardships. This process continues even today. We must express our gratitude to all these scholars, past and present.

Such a heritage has to be preserved and looked after by any Government of a free country. To discharge this responsibility the Government of India had appointed the Sanskrit Commission for the implementation of whose recommendations a Board of Sanskrit Studies has now been set up. A grant of Rs. 75 lakhs has been sanctioned for it in the Third Five-Year Plan. Some

of the State Governments have done commendable work by making Sanskrit a compulsory subject of study at the higher secondary stage. The importance of such studies is being widely realized. The Sanskrit Commission has laid stress on the fact that the main citadel on which Hindi and our regional languages stand is furnished by Sanskrit and its literature. Sanskrit Universities have been established at Darbhanga and Varanasi in Bihar and Uttar Pradesh respectively. You can build on this popular appreciation of the situation. Let me hope this Sammelan will consider the question in all its aspects and its discussions and mutual exchange of views will lead to better coordination among the bodies charged with this work. I am glad that this Sammelan is well aware of this need and has enlisted the co-operation of scholars and the people from all walks of life. It is, therefore, going to provide an integrated forum for the propagation of Sanskrit. It is gratifying to know that the Sammelan has also taken in hand the work of bringing out Vishwa Sanskrit Shatabdi Granth, which, in my opinion, will present a true picture of Sanskrit literature and its development in India and other countries.

I am happy to know that steps have been taken to build a Sanskrit Bhavan and set up a Sanskrit institute in New Delhi. It will remove a long-felt want in the Union Capital. I am sure the Sammelan will have the co-operation of the Government and the people in implementing these plans.

Thanking you once again and offering my tribute to all those who have contributed to the enrichment of this great heritage of India, I have pleasure in inaugurating the 26th Session of the All India Sanskrit Sahitya Sammelan.

TRIBUTE TO THE LATE JUSTICE DIGAMBAR CHATTERJEE

Mr. Governor, Chief Justice, Hon'ble Judges and Friends,

I needed no persuasion to accept your invitation to pay a second visit to this Association. It was a pleasant function which I was asked to attend, and apart from the fact that an invitation from you was always welcome to me, the additional temptation was that I would get an opportunity to pay my tribute and respect to the memory of the late Justice Digambar Chatterjee.

You have told me that perhaps I might say something about him which many of you do not know. I believe your impression is correct and I am going to say something which perhaps most of you do not know although it involves a certain amount of my own personal reminiscences.

I was in the High Court for a brief period of four to five years and when I joined it, Mr. Justice Digambar Chatterjee was already on the Bench. A junior just joining was not likely to attract the attention of those on the Bench, and apart from that, I had no other reason to be known to judges of the High Court : But it was my fortune to come in close contact with Justice Digambar Chatterjee before I joined the High Court, and that was, I am proud to say, because I was tutor to one of his sons. When I became an Articled Clerk, I utilised my spare hours in giving private tuition and thus earned a living to maintain myself in the City of Calcutta and it was only in this way I came to know him. I think junior lawyers who have just joined the Bar or are going to join the Bar will do well to remember the advice that he gave me when he knew that I was going to be enrolled as a Vakil of the High Court and would start my practice here. One evening he asked me if I was going to practise here in the Calcutta High Court ? I said Yes. The next question was "Have you got any near relation of yours at the Bar here in Calcutta?" I said No. His comment was 'You are very fortunate'. Then he asked me "Have you got any other relation of yours who has any good practice in any of the District Mofussil Courts ?" I said No. He said 'You are still more fortunate'. The next question was "Have you any relation anywhere who has anything to do with the law?". My answer was the same because I had none: And he said 'You are very fortunate'. I said 'I am looking to you and your support.' He

*Speech on the occasion of unveiling the portrait of the late Justice Digambar Chatterjee at the High Court, on the 3rd July, 1961.

said 'I tell you, my boy, if you had a big lawyer who was your relation here, and some big client would come to him and engage him, he would throw a few pieces at you and engage you also not because you are quite a good lawyer, not because you have done good work, but because you happened to be a near relation of a good lawyer; and similarly if you had good relations in the District Courts, they would send cases to you because you are a relation of a lawyer in the District Court. And do you know what will happen? You would get a few chips now and then, but you will not get an opportunity to work. You will not have either the will or the interest to work because you will never get a chance to work independently on your own; and the result would be that you will never be independent in your profession and when the time comes for a lawyer to dictate his own terms, there will be nobody to dictate terms; and in that way you will not become a good lawyer at any time; but as you are situated what will happen is this. You will not have any clients. Probably some cases may come. Those who will not be able to engage any big lawyer will come to you. Such a person will entrust his all to you and he will ask you to do your best for him, and if by any chance you succeeded, you will be your best advertising agency, and one client will bring a second, the second will bring a third, the third the fourth, and so on, independently without any obligation to anybody, and in that way you will be able to practise on your own; and after a little time, some big client will come to you thinking you are doing so well and you will be able to dictate your own terms, and then you will become a good and influential lawyer. So do not be sorry you have got no relation of yours to help you. Just concentrate on your work, work hard and do your best; and I tell all young friends to take a lesson from what I have said and furthermore that what Justice Digambar Chatterjee said I found to be perfectly correct and most useful in life. I started in a very small way and many of the clients were non-paying clients too, because I made a principle not to accept fee below a certain figure, and if a client came who was not able to pay that figure, I would not ask him to pay anything.

I am afraid I have occupied a good bit of your time because I felt that it might impress you to know something about Justice Digambar Chatterjee. He was in a sense my sponsor at a time when I just started practice. I should not say anything about his position as a judge because his judgments are there and it would be presumptuous on my part to say anything particularly because my connection with the Bar has ceased for the last 40 years now and whatever law I had learnt I have forgotten now because my

only connection with law at the present moment is to sign Bills which are sent to me, and I do not suppose that requires any particular knowledge of law. Therefore I can only say that you have done well in putting up this portrait of a judge who was distinguished not only for his learning, for his acumen, but even more for the independence of his judgments which will do honour to any High Court. I am one of those who appeared before him and I can say now even after forty years that it was not always a pleasure to appear before him because even the least mistake or want of preparation would not go undetected; and if I may also say so, he will also not go unpunished. If you have got judges of that type, you can rest assured that our liberties, our lives and properties will always be safe.

I thank you for the privilege which you have given me to associate myself with this pleasant function. I am sure this portrait will continue to remind generations of lawyers yet to come of the high ideals of the profession.

